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THE
CHURCH HISTORY OF
BRITAIN;

FROM
THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL
THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVoured
BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.
PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES,
BY THE REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

VOLUME I.

OXFORD:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
M.DCCC.XLV.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN preparing this new edition of FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY, the principal object has been to examine and correct the references. If attention to this point be incumbent on every editor of an historical work, it is eminently so in the present instance. The vivacity of Fuller's style, his wit, his moderation, the exuberance of his fancy, have made him a general favourite; but the praise for these excellencies has often been qualified by insinuations affecting his veracity. From the days of Heylyn, his literary competitor, to those of Warburton, and, still later, up to the present time, it has been fashionable to decry the History of the Church, not so much for those errors which are incidental to all works of this nature, and might be excused considering the disadvantages under which Fuller laboured, as for the more serious faults of partiality and disingenuity.

Now without entering into a laboured refutation of these charges, it may be sufficient to remark, that a careful examination of Fuller's authorities

with the statements made in his narrative, has ended in a result favourable to his industry, judgment, and accuracy.

To the far more serious imputation of intentional dishonesty, the work itself seems to furnish a sufficient answer. Had Fuller wished to gain favour with the rising powers, how could he hope to promote his object by dedicating the different Books and Sections of his History to such of his friends and patrons as were notorious for their loyalty and adherence to the church? When the work was first printed, the power and influence of the republicans were at their greatest height; nothing was to be gained by a needless profession of loyalty or religious principles: yet so far was he from seeking favour with the uppermost party, or shrinking, like many others, from the avowal of his sentiments, that there is scarcely one among those whom he has thus recorded as his friends, who had not suffered in his person or his property, for adherence to the royal party.

The truth of these remarks might be further shewn by reference to the Life prefixed to this volume; a work which has now become comparatively rare, notwithstanding that it passed through two editions within two years after its publication. It was thought that a biography, written by contemporary, was likely to be more interesting to the reader, than any more recent memoir, withstanding its numerous affectations and occasional obscurity of style. Besides its value, as accurate summary of events, it is important

this respect, as shewing the estimation in which Fuller was held by some of his contemporaries ; and how little that estimation was affected by the disparaging remarks of his opponents.

To this Life a few notes have been added, consisting chiefly of extracts from his various writings, supplying deficiencies in the dates, or correcting occasional inaccuracies.

In compliance with the rule uniformly adopted at the University Press, the spelling of words has been remodelled throughout the present work. In the orthography of proper names, especially of those which occur in the earlier volumes, spelled sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, such forms have been adopted as were warranted by the best manuscripts, or, if possible, by letters and public documents. On some occasions it has been found impossible or inexpedient to adhere strictly to this rule, more particularly in the names of Fuller's contemporaries.

In settling the chronology, and determining the marginal dates, the editor has allowed himself greater liberty ; for this obvious reason :

In the folio edition of the work, published at various presses, and bearing evident marks of haste, the dates were arranged in parallel columns, opposite the paragraphs to which they referred. By this means it frequently happened that a date seemed to apply to an entire page or section, which in reality was intended only for part of it ; from the carelessness of the printer, or haste in the composition of the work, the numbers sometimes became misplaced,

and attached to the wrong paragraph; an oversight which has led the readers of Fuller into serious errors on more than one occasion.

Another very fruitful source of error was the method of reckoning, not by the civil but the ecclesiastical year. To obviate such difficulties as were likely in this way to perplex the reader, it was necessary to correct the chronology throughout, to adopt the modern notation, and to insert fresh dates where they were requisite.

The great uncertainty which pervades all our earlier annals is obvious to any one who is slightly acquainted with this portion of English History. Not only was it usual for different writers to commence their years with different months, but even the same writer, for example Matthew Paris, when compiling from different sources, either from carelessness or design, adopted different modes of computation in one and the same chronicle. Of this uncertainty Fuller has given a remarkable instance in this volume. It is not decided whether we must refer such an event as the conversion of a whole nation to the year 99, or to a hundred years later.^a

After a careful examination of the different systems of chronology adopted by different writers, it has been deemed advisable in the earlier portion of the work to follow the arrangement of Florence of Worcester, or rather the MS. copy of Florence, preserved in Corpus Christi College Oxford. For the use of this valuable MS. (whic'

^a See Church History, i. 26.

is free from the errors of the printed copy) he has to thank the Rev. E. Greswell, fellow of that college. Florence is succeeded by Nicholas Trivet, a most exact and careful annalist; public papers, rolls, and documents have served as a guide from the period of the Reformation; especially the notes to Godwin's treatise *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, edited by Dr. Richardson; a work of the utmost value to the student of ecclesiastical history.

The editor has now only to acknowledge his obligations to the Rev. R. H. Barham, of St. Paul's Cathedral, for such genealogical notes in the first volume as are signed with the letter B. These, as well as all other additions to the original work, are distinguished by brackets.

KING'S COLLEGE,
May, 1845.

THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF THAT
REVEREND DIVINE
AND
EXCELLENT HISTORIAN,
DR. THOMAS FULLER.

"Si post Fata venit Gloria, sic propero."—MART.

OXFORD:

Printed for R. HOPTON, and are to be Sold at the Royal Exchange,
Westminster Hall, and Fleet Street.

1662.

Heath

THE LIFE

OF THE REVEREND AND EXCELLENT

DR. THOMAS FULLER^a.

THE ample subject of this incompetent relation is doctor Thomas Fuller, to whose dust we do avowedly consecrate this elogy—the doctor of famous memory.

He was born at Alwincle, an obscure town in Northamptonshire, some five miles from Oundle, in the year of our Lord 1608^b, a place now equalled to, and vying honour with any seed-plot (in that county) of virtue, learning, and religion ; of which hereafter to its glory it shall be said, *that this man was born there.*

^a In his preface printed in this note, the author speaks as follows :
 “ To the reader. This reverend
 “ person deceased, who while he
 “ shined here gave a full meridian
 “ light to all kind of history, sets
 “ with this shadow in his own, the
 “ dark side of that lanthorn to
 “ himself, whose lucidations had
 “ discovered all before it, and
 “ rescued so many brave memoirs
 “ from the violence of time. Pity it
 “ is that such excellent persons
 “ (for it is their common fate)
 “ should be so neglectful of them-
 “ selves, while they are so service-
 “ able to the world, which reaps
 “ all, with a careless or ungrateful
 “ return to the authors of their
 “ store and increase.

“ And as the intrinsical worth of
 “ diamonds, exerts not its lustre
 “ without a foil ; so it fareth with
 “ the most costly and rich shrines
 “ of those resplendent and shining

“ virtues, erected in the memory
 “ and fame of worthy men, which
 “ are always shewed by lamp, or
 “ some other facacious and bor-
 “ rowed light, that only directs to
 “ the solemnity, and invites vene-
 “ ration, but cannot contribute
 “ nor add any real estimate and
 “ honour to the saint himself.”

“ The account of this reverend
 “ doctor deceased states itself in
 “ this apology : it pretends not to
 “ be any of his least and inconsi-
 “ derable relic, and it doth alike jus-
 “ tify itself from being his legend ;
 “ merely the worth of so deserving
 “ a person, (which no pen hath yet
 “ undertook or attempted,) for ci-
 “ vility's sake, hath obliged this
 “ essay, which to your easiest cen-
 “ sure is here submitted.”

^b According to the computation
 in the Biographia Britannica ; and
 a MS. note in a copy of his life in
 the British Museum.

He was the son of Mr. Tho. Fuller, the minister of the same town^c, a man of a blameless and as private life, who spent himself in the discharge of his pastoral office to which God had called him, without embarking himself in the busy controversies of his time, that laboured under the fatigues of most importunate puritanism and pleading popery.

Part of this privacy bestowed itself fruitfully upon the youth of the venerable doctor, (who had lost some time under the ill menage of a raw and unskilful schoolmaster,) so that in a little space, such a proficiency was visibly seen in him, that it was a question, whether he owed more to his father for his birth or education; both which had so happily and so easily concurred, that he was admirably learned before it could be supposed he had been taught; and this will seem no paradox to those who knew his felicity of memory, which he owed not to the lubricity of art, but the certainty of nature^d.

Having under this tuition passed the just time of adolescence in those puerile studies, at twelve years of age^e, this hopeful slip was translated to Cambridge, where he first settled in Queen's College, of which a near kinsman of his, Dr. [Davenant], was then president. This was a sphere wherein his relucient virtues and conspicuous abilities had room to exert themselves, so that he filled the eyes of that university with a just expectation of his future lustre.

Here he successively passed the degrees of bachelor and master of arts^f, with such general commendation, and at

^c Of St. Peter's. To which he was presented by William Cecil, earl of Exeter. Biog. ib. Fuller mentions his father in his Church History, and speaks of his acquaintance with Greenham the celebrated puritan. Ch. Hist. V. p. 193.

^d Fuller's mother was a sister to Dr. John Davenant, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, to whom undoubtedly he was much indebted for his early education. Aubrey says: "that he was a boy of a pregnant

"wit, and when Bp. Davenant and "his father were discoursing, he "would be by and hearken, now and "then put in, and sometimes be- "yond expectation or his years." Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 354.

^e A. D. 1620. In 1621 his uncle was promoted to the see of Salisbury, having been succeeded in the headship by Dr. John Mansel.

^f Bachelor of arts in 1624; master of arts 1628. The Biogr. B. from the University Register.

such unusual age, that such a commencement was not within memory^g.

During his residence in this college, a fellowship was vacant, for which the doctor became candidate, prompted thereunto by a double plea of merit and interest, besides the desire of the whole house; but a statute of the college prevailing against them all, which admitted not two fellows of the said county of Northampton, the doctor quitted his pretensions and designation to that preferment. And though he was well assured of a dispensation from the strict limitation of that statute to be obtained for him, yet he totally declined it, as not willing to owe his rise and advancement to the courtesy to so ill a precedent, that might usher in more immodest intrusions upon the privileges and laws of the college^h.

But this gave him a fair occasion to transfer himself to Sidney collegeⁱ, whither by some of his choice and learned friends he had often been invited. He had not long been here, but he was chosen minister of St. Bennet's parish in the town of Cambridge^k, in whose church he offered the

^g He stayed at this college eight years, according to his own statement, in the *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 123.

^h His uncle however, Bp. Davenant, used much entreaty with the master, to obtain a fellowship for his nephew; as may be seen by his letters, in the Tanner Collection, in the Bodleian.

ⁱ Sidney was a very poor college. In his *History of the University*, Fuller says: "It is as yet but early days with this college, which hath not seen sixty years; yet hath it been fruitful in worthy men proportionably to the age thereof, and I hope it will daily increase. Now though it be only the place of the parents, and proper to him as the greater to bless his child (Heb. vii. 6.), yet it is the duty of the child to pray for his parents, in which relation my best desires are due to this foundation, my mother for my

"last eight years in this university. May her lamp never lack light for the oil, or oil for the light thereof! 'Zoar, is it not a little one?' Yet who shall despise the day of small things?" p. 217. From this then we may infer that Fuller's stay at the university lasted about sixteen years, which would make him twenty-eight at the time of leaving it.

It is most probable that Fuller was received at Sidney, through the influence of Bp. Davenant with Dr. Ward, the master of it, his most dear and intimate friend. And if the computation in the previous notes be correct, he migrated thither in 1628, the year in which he took his master's degree.

^k In his *History of the University of Cambridge*, referring to his presentation, Fuller states a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of his biographers: "I most thankfully confess myself,

primity of his ministerial fruits, which, like apples of gold in pictures of silver, (sublime divinity in the most ravishing elegancies,) attracted the audience of the university, by whose dilated commendations he was generally known at that age at which most men do but peep into the world.

These his great sufficiencies (being now but about the age of twenty-three years) tendered him a prebendary of Salisbury¹, and at the same time a fellowship in Sidney college. They were both eximious preferments as the times then were, the estimation of either being equally great *mutatis mutandis*; but the doctor's inclination biassed him to the more active and profitable incumbency, into which his inbred piety and devotion had from the first of his resolutions induced him. Whereupon he retired from that university, and betook himself to the priestly function, being thereunto ordained by the right reverend father in God the bishop of Salisbury.

This being the king's donation, was some further reason for abandoning his most pleasant studies and conversation in Cambridge, for that also by the statutes of both universities it is provided, that no person who shall have ten pound per annum in the king's books shall be capable of a fellowship in either of them. So Providence was pleased to dispose of him in each of these academical honorary intendments, that his fluent should not run silently in those streams, contribute only to their emanations, but with fame discharge itself into the ocean, reciprocate honour and desert with the world.

Having thus launched and being so furnished, he set forth in the course of the ministry, exchanging those delightful privacies of his college studies (which laid the

" (he says,) once a member at large
" of this house (Bennett college)
" when they were pleased, above
" twenty years since, freely (with-
" out my thoughts thereof) to
" choose me minister of St. Bene-
" dict's church, the parish adjoin-
" ing and in their patronage." p.

74. The History of Cambridge was published in 1655. The living was then valued at 4*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

¹ " Of Netherbury in *Ecclesi-*
" to which he was collated up
" the decease of Dr. John Ri-
" linson on the 18th of Ju-
" 1631." Biog. Brit.

happy foundations and beginnings of those excellent books^m, which successively teemed those productions and propagations of divine learning and knowledge, of which more hereafter) for the troublesome cure of a parish and importunate pulpit.

That prebend of Salisbury was a commodious step to another more profitable place, which for its vicinity to that cathedral, and being in the same diocese, did easily commend itself without the aid and instance of the patron or other inducements to the doctor's acceptance; but yet he did not over-readily entertain the kindness of the proffer, till after a serious scrutiny of himself and his abilities to discharge the requisite duties the place called for; and after a very full and satisfactory inquiry of his parishioners.

It was the rectory of Broad Windsor in Dorsetshire, a place far distanced from his native country, and remoter from his university. "A prophet hath no honour of his own;" and therefore it was doubled to him in another. The accommodation both in reference to his maintenance and respect from this people was very noble, and which afforded great expedience to the doctor's other labours, which were bountifully cherished under the tuition of the ministry.

After some while employed here in the pastoral office, the doctor was desired by some friends to dignify his desert with the degrees which his time and standing by the rules of the university afforded him: whereunto the doctor out of a reverence to his honourable calling was well inclined, and accordingly prepared for his departure to Cambridge to take the degree of bachelor of divinityⁿ.

Having taken care therefore to supply his place for the time of his absence, at his setting forth he was acquainted that four of his chief parishioners, with his good leave, were ready to wait on him to Cambridge, to testify their exceeding engagements, it being the sense and request of his whole parish. This kindness was so present and so

^m The first of which was a poem, entitled "David's heinous Sin, hearty Repentance, and heavy Punishment." Published in 1631. See the list of his works at the end of this Biography.
ⁿ In 1635. *Biographia Brit.* from the University Register.

resolutely pressed, that the doctor, with many thanks for that and other demonstrations of their love towards him, gladly accepted of their company, and with his customary innate pleasantness entertained their time to the journey's end.

At his coming to Cambridge he was most welcomingly treated and saluted by his friends and acquaintance, and visited almost by all considerable persons of the university and town; especially of his parishioners of St. Bennet: fame and love vying which should render him most addresses, to the great delight and satisfaction of his fellow-travellers and neighbours in having a minister who was so highly and yet no less deservedly honoured, but to the trouble of the modest doctor, who was then forced to busy his invention with compliments, to which he was most naturally averse.

At this commencement there proceeded with him in the same degree of bachelor of divinity three other reverend persons, all with general applause and commendation; and therefore to do them no wrong, must forbear to give the deceased doctor his particular due: only thus much by the way may be added, that this commencement cost the doctor for his particular, the sum of sevenscore pounds, an evidence of his liberality and largeness of mind proportionable to his other capacities, and yet than which nothing was less studied.

At his departure he was dismissed with as honourable valedictions, and so he returned in the same company (who had out of their own purse contributed another addition of honour to that solemnity) to his said rectory at Broad-Windsor, resolving there to spend himself and the time of his pilgrimage amongst his dear and loving charge.

In the amenity and retirements of this rural life some perfection was given to those pieces which soon after blessed this age (an account of all which is reserved to the conclusion of these collections^o): from this pleasant pro-

^o The first of these was dated from "Broad-Windsor, March 6. 1638;" i. e. 1639, according to our computation. In the titlepage the author styles himself, "B. D. Prebendary of Sarum, late of Sidney College in Cambridge." The Pisgah Sight was a much

spect he drew that excellent piece of the Holy War, Pisgah Sight, and other tracts relating thereto; so that what was said bitterly of some tyrants, that they made whole countries vast solitudes and deserts, may be inverted to the eulogy of this doctor, that he in these recesses made deserts the solitudes of Israel, the frequented path and track of all ingenuous and studious persons.

But contemplation, and the immurement of his vast spirit within the precincts of his parish, (although both delightful and profitable, those foreign travails of his brain above mentioned. affording the one, and his pious labours at home yielding the other,) grew tedious and wearisome to his active and free genius, which was framed by nature for converse and general intelligence, not to be smothered in such an obscurity.

To this inclination also the unquietness and trepidations of those times (then scared with the news of a war about religion and reformation which the Scots pretended) did oversway him. He was very sensible whither those first commotions did tend, and that some heavy disaster did, in those angry clouds which impended over the nation, more particularly threaten the clergy. He was then also married unto a virtuous young gentlewoman, and by her had born there his eldest son, now a hopeful plant in the same college and university where his father had his education^p. These motives, concurring with that general fame and esteem of him, drew him to the consultation of a city life, where both security, honour, and the advantages of learning, did demonstratively promise the completion of his desires and intended tranquillity, destined already to some public works which were then in designment.

Removing therefore to London, having obtained his fair dismissal from that charge in the country, he continued his pious endeavours of preaching in most of the voiced pulpits of London, (being cried up for one of the most excellent preachers of his age,) but most usually in the inns of court.

later production, the dedication "bey, July 7. 1650."
bearing the date, "Waltham Ab-^p Named John.

He was from thence, by the master and brotherhood of the Savoy, (as well as earnestly desired and entreated by that small parish,) complimented to accept of the lecturer's place; which having undertaken after some instance, he did most piously and effectually discharge, witness the great confluence of affected hearers from distant congregations, insomuch that his own cure were, in a sense, excommunicated from the church, unless their timous diligence kept pace with their devotion; the doctor affording them no more time for their extraordinaries on the Lord's day, than what he allowed his habituated abstinence on all the rest. He had in his narrow chapel two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church and the sextonry so crowded, as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse.

He continued here to the great satisfaction of his people and the neighbouring nobility and gentry, till our unhappy unnatural wars had made a dismal progress through the whole nation; labouring all that while in private and in public to beget a right understanding among all men of the king's most righteous cause, which through seduction and popular fury was generally maligned. His exhortations to peace and obedience were his constant subjects in the church, (all his sermons were such liturgies,) while his secular days were spent in vigorously promoting the king's affairs either by a sudden reconciliation or potent assistance⁹.

To this end, on the anniversary day of his late majesty's inauguration, which was the [27th] day of March, 1642, he preached at St. Peter's, Westminster, on this text, 2 Sam. xix. 30: *Yea, let him take all, so that my lord the king return in peace.* A theme so distasteful to the ring-leaders of the rebellion (who had on purpose so scandalously driven him from his court and parliament, that he might never with any pleasure think of returning to the

⁹. About this time, that is, in 1640, the celebrated convocation began at Westminster, in which the new canons were passed. This gave occasion to the impeachment

of the bishops by the parliament. Our author's own part on this occasion may be seen in Church History, vol. vi. p. 16

till he had vindicated his honour upon the abettors of those tumults), and so well and loyally enforced by him, that drew not only a suspicion from the moderate misled party of parliament, but an absolute odium on him from the grandees and principals in the rebellion^r.

There were few or none of the orthodox clergy then remaining within their lines of communication (new invented limits for the city's old liberties), some being dead in restraint, or through more harsh and cruel dealing, the rest outed and silenced; so that their inspection and espial was confined almost to the doctor's pulpit as to public assemblies; where, nevertheless, he desisted not, nor altered from his main course, the doctrine of allegiance, till such time as the covenant was obtruded upon his conscience, and must, through his persuasions, be likewise pressed upon his people.

Several false rumours and cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touching that sacrilegious thing by persons, who were distanced as far from the knowledge of those passages, as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that snare^s. It was not only

^r To the troubles then beclouding this kingdom, and the opposition which he expected to encounter, Fuller alluded in his *Holy State*, which, though printed in 1642, was, as he tells us in his address to the reader, prepared a year before.

"Now (he says) I will turn my pen into prayer, that God would be pleased to discloud these gloomy days with the beams of his mercy: which if I may be so happy as to see, it will then encourage me to count it freedom to serve two apprenticeships (God spinning out the thick thread of my life so long) in writing the Ecclesiastical History from Christ's time to our days, if I shall from remoter parts be so planted as to enjoy the benefit of walking and standing libraries.—Meanwhile I will stop the leakage of my soul,

"and what heretofore hath run out in writing shall hereafter (God willing) be improved in constant preaching, in what place soever God's providence and friends' good will shall fix [me]."

^s The author unquestionably alludes, among others, to the celebrated William Lilly the astrologer. He had accused Fuller of dishonesty, in first taking the solemn league and covenant, in compliance with the orders of the parliament, and then taking refuge with the king at Oxford. He took the covenant twice for the parliament, before my face in the Savoy church; invited others to it, yet, apostate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and then whined to his companions, and protested the countess of R—— made him take it." Lilly's Hist. p. 172. ed. 1774.

The statement is very positive,

easy, but most prudential, for other ecclesiastical persons to quit their livings who were out of the grips and clutches of those ravenous reformists, in order to keep their conscience inviolable; but it was difficulty enough of itself for the doctor to escape and get out of that place, where the next preferment would have been a dungeon.

Some velitations, transient discourses, he made about that frequent and thumbed subject of the reformation, the rather to suspend the busy censures of the parliament and their party; wherein though he seemed to comply (but as far as the rule and example would allow), and indulge the misapprehension of those men, yet these his charitable disguises could not obscure him from the severe animadversions of several ministers eminent in those reforming times, particularly Mr. Saltmarsh. The contest betwixt them is so known in print that it will be needless to trouble the reader with it here^t; only thus much by digression in honour of this venerable doctor: Mr. Saltmarsh being long long since dead, he hath in his book of the Worthies General of England (of which hereafter) given him a most honourable mention, and assigned him the place of his

and not a little malicious; yet, if we may believe Fuller himself, was founded on a mistake. See his Church Hist. vi. p. 267.

^t As for the controversy between our author and Mr. John Saltmarsh, it was occasioned by the *Sermon of Reformation*, which Fuller had preached at the Savoy (Heb. ix. x. in 1643). Against this sermon Saltmarsh published some animadversions, wherein he charged Fuller with several points of popery; and Fuller defended the arguments which he had delivered in a tract set forth, under the title of *Truth Maintained*. In this tract he challenged Saltmarsh to a reply, but he appeared in the lists no more; giving his reason afterwards for it, that he would not shoot his arrows against a *dead* mark. He had been informed that Fuller was dead at Exeter.

Upon this our author observes, that he himself has no cause to be angry with fame for such a favorable falsehood. "May I make this true (says he) of that false report, to *die daily*. See how Providence has crossed it! The dead reported man is still living; the then living man dead; and seeing I survive to go over his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mould thereof; using that civility on him, which I received from him." (Biog. Brit.) This was written May 20, 1661. See the Worthies, iii. p. 435. Saltmarsh died in 1647, in a state of insanity. He was a man of considerable ability and acuteness, but wild and extravagant, as might be expected. See the Biogr. Brit. ib. and Wood's Athen. ii. 288.

birth, education, and burial, registering him for an ornament of them all: so resplendent and durable was the doctor's charity. I may not omit one thing, that the doctor in recording and relating of the death of the said Mr. Saltmarsh, doth passionately reflect on the shortness of his life, and the acuteness of that fever which so violently ended him, reducing and applying it to the uncertainty of his own state; and we now unhappily see those curious pressages of his pen verified and accomplished in his most immature and sudden decease.

To return to our subject; in the beginning of the year 1643 the said covenant was generally pressed, and a very great persecution soon after followed it. The doctor was settled in the love and affections of his own parish, besides other obligations to his numerous followers; so that the Covenant then tendered might seem like the bright side of that cloud (promising serenity and prosperity to him, as was insinuated to the doctor by many great parliamentarians) which showered down, after a little remoteness, such a black horrible tempest upon the clergy, nay, the church and three kingdoms. But the good doctor could not bow down his knee to that Baal-Berith, nor for any worldly considerations (enough whereof invited him even to fall down and worship, men of his great parts being infinitely acceptable to them) lend so much as an ear to their serpentine charms of religion and reformation.

Since therefore he could not continue with his cure without his conscience, and every day threatened the imposition of that illegal oath, he resolved to betake himself to God's providence, and to put himself directly under it, waving all indirect means and advantages whatsoever towards his security. In order thereunto, in April 1643, he deserted the city of London and privately conveyed himself to Oxford, to the no less sudden amazement of the faction here, who yet upon recollection quickly found their mistake, than to the unexpected content and joy of the loyal party there, who had every day Job's messengers of the plundering, ruins, and imprisonments of orthodox divines.

Oxford was then the common refuge and shelter of such persecuted persons, so that it never was nor is like to be a more learned university, (one breast being dried up by Cromwell's visitation^u, the milk resorted to the other,) nor did ever letters and arms so well consist together, it being an accomplished academy of both.

Among the multitude of those new comers, like the clean beasts to the ark when the waters increased, the king (the most excellent intelligent prince of the abilities of his clergy) vouchsafed the doctor the honour of preaching before him in St. Mary's, where, with the like moderation, he laid open the blessings of an accommodation, as being too too sensible, and that so recently, of the virulency and impotent rage, though potent arms, of the disloyal Londoners; which, as the doctor then Christianly thought, could not better be allayed than by a fair condescension in matters of church reformation.

It seems some particulars in that sermon gave offence to some at court, as if the good doctor were a lukewarm royalist, and did not thoroughly own his majesty's cause; which ill-grounded conceit (though he were well satisfied in that his plea for composure) did not a little trouble him: to explain and free himself, an opportunity was wanting both of press and pulpit, and the hurry of the war gave not his prejudiced hearers leisure for his particular vindication. He resolved therefore strenuously to evince his faithful loyalty to the king by another kind of argument; by appearing in the king's armies to be a preacher militant to his soldiers^x.

This resolution Providence was pleased to favour by an honourable friend's recommendation of the doctor to my lord Hopton^y, who was then to choose a chaplain. This

^u He means the university of Cambridge, which was nearly annihilated by the worthless earl of Manchester.

^x The writer of Fuller's life in the *Biographia Britannica* thinks with very good reason, that during his stay in the university Fuller was for a time entertained at Lin-

coln. Probably about this time also he lost his books and papers, of which he so frequently complains. See particularly his dedication to lord Cranfield in the *Church Hist.* iii. p. 1. and other passages quoted in the *Biographia* ib.

^y Sir Ralph Hopton, creat

noble lord, though as courageous and expert a captain, and successful withal, as the king had any, was never averse to an amicable closure of the war upon fair and honourable terms, and did therefore well approve of the doctor and his desires and pursuit after peace. The good doctor was likewise infinitely contented in his attendance on such an excellent personage, whose conspicuous and noted loyalty could not but derive the same reputation to his retainers, especially one so near his conscience as his chaplain, and so wipe off that stain which the mistakes of those men had cast on him. In this intendment God was pleased to succeed the doctor and give him victory (proper to the camp he followed) against this first attempt on his honour.

During the campania, and while the army continued in the field, he performed the duty of his holy function with as much solemn piety and devotion as he used before in places consecrated to God's worship, and according to the form used and appointed by the Church of England: in all emergencies and present enterprises using no other prayers than what the care of the Fathers of the Church had in those miserable exigencies newly directed. To this he added constant preaching on the Lord's day, animating in his sermons the soldiers to fight courageously, and to demean themselves worthy of that glorious cause with which God had honoured them.

With the progress of the war he marched from place to place, and wherever there happened for the better accommodation of the army any reasonable stay, he allotted it with great satisfaction to his beloved studies. Those cessations and intermissions begot in him the most intentness and solicitous industry of mind; which as he never used to much recreation or diversion in times of peace, which might loose and relax a well disciplined spirit, so neither

lord Hopton, May 16, 1643, for his victory at Stratton in Cornwall. See his patent in the Worthies, i. 331, and a larger account of him in Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 341. One other such a man had saved king Charles.

I may add that this lord belonged to Lincoln college, and was brought up under the eye of the celebrated Bp. Sanderson, which makes the suggestion stated in the former note still more probable.

did the horror and rigidity of the war stiffen him in such a stupidity (which generally possess all learned men) or else distract him, but that in such lucid intervals he would seriously and fixedly come to himself and his designed business.

Indeed his business and study then was a kind of errantry, having proposed to himself a more exact collection of the worthies general of England, in which others had waded before, but he resolved to go through. In what place soever therefore he came, of remark especially, he spent frequently most of his time in views and researches of their antiquities and church monuments, insinuating himself into the acquaintance (which frequently ended in a lasting friendship) of the learnedest and gravest persons residing within the place, thereby to inform himself fully of those things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correspondence the doctor maintained and enjoyed by this means.

Nor did the good doctor ever refuse to light his candle in investigating truth from the meanest person's discovery. He would endure contentedly an hour's or more impertinence from any aged church officer or other superannuated people for the gleanings of two lines to his purpose. And though his spirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind ready and answerable to that activity of dispatch, yet in these inquests he would stay and attend those circular rambles till they came to a point; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse antiquity. Nor did he ever dismiss any such feeble adjusters or helpers (as he pleased to style them) without giving them money and cheerful thanks besides.

After the fight at Cheriton Down^z my lord Hopton drew down with his army and artillery to Basing, and so marched that way to Oxford, intending to take up winter quarters as soon as he had consulted with the king, and left the doctor in that as courageously manned as well fortified house; where he had scarce begun to reduce his

^z On March 29, 1644.

marching observations into form and method, but sir William Waller, having taken in Winchester, came to besiege the doctor's sanctuary. This no way amated or terrified him, but only the noise of the canon playing from the enemy's leaguer interrupted the prosecution of digesting his notes; which trouble he recompensed to them by an importunate spiriting of the defendants in their sallies; which they followed so close and so bravely, suffering the besiegers scarce to eat or sleep, that sir William was compelled to raise his siege and march away, leaving above a thousand men slain behind him, and the doctor the pleasure of seeing that strong effort of rebellion in some way by his means repulsed and defeated, and in being free to proceed in his wonted intendments^a.

What time the doctor continued here is very uncertain; sure we may be he was not an unemployed or an unacceptable guest to that loyal garrison, and that as noble and honourable marquis^b the proprietary of the place; the demolishing of which princely edifice then standing in spite of their potent arms, yet afterwards through the fortune of war being fallen into their hands and razed by their more impotent revenge^c, he doth heartily lament in his "Worthies general^d," preferring it while it flourished for the chiefest fabric in Hampshire. This his kindness to the place of his refuge though no doubt true and deserved enough, yet no questionless was endeared in him by some more peculiar obliging regards and respects he found during his abode there; though indeed his worth could want and miss them nowhere.

The next removal of the doctor was to his charge in the army, and his particular duty of chaplain to his said lord.

^a This happened in the November following.

^b The marquis of Worcester.

^c By Cromwell, in Sept. 1645.

^d Basing house (says Sanderson) had been first attempted in August 1643; again by Waller in November after; and then with considerable forces, from June

14, in the year 1644, and relieved "11 September after, then continue very considerable forces, constantly besieging it,—till now "Cromwell comes." *Reign of Charles I.* p. 834.

^d Vol. ii. p. 4. At the time of its capture, however, Fuller seems to have been at Exeter.

The war was then at its zenith^e, hotter and more dilated, raging everywhere both in this and the two neighbouring kingdoms, so that there was no shelter or retirement which it had not invaded and intruded into by unruly garrisons, while the country became a devastated solitude, so that the doctor's design could proceed nowhere.

But that fatal war hasting to a sad and miserable end, success not answering the merit of the cause, the king's field forces being everywhere engaged, and part of the loyal army driven into Cornwall, under the command of that skilful captain, the good doctor took refuge betimes in Exeter, having taken his congé and dismissal of his beloved lord^f.

Here again he resumed his task of the aforesaid Worthies, not minding the cloud impending on that place, nor no way intermitting the duty of his calling, preaching constantly to those truly loyal citizens: it is a supernumerary labour to acquaint the reader with how great satisfaction and content; that always and everywhere being annexed to his meanest endeavours.

During his stay in Exeter, the queen having been delivered of her last burthen (saving her sorrows and distresses) by the birth of the princess Henrietta^g, the learned doctor was preferred to be the infant lady's chaplain; her royal father's intendment being, as he had educated the rest of his princely issue, to have her brought up in the protestant religion. To that end, the good doctor, in regard of his soundness and sincerity in that profession, and eminent famous assertion of it, was designed to attend on

^e In 1645.

^f Lord Hopton, after leaving Basing house, retired to Oxford; and thence, after collecting recruits, he made a descent upon Taunton, but being compelled to raise the siege upon the approach of the parliamentary forces, he turned his thoughts to the relief of Exeter. At Torrington however he was met by lord Fairfax commanding twice the number of

forces, and defeated. Withdrawing into Cornwall, he again raised a body of 5000 horse. But being summoned by Fairfax to surrender at Tresilian bridge, he delivered up his arms, and retired beyond sea. Ludlow, p. 65, and Lloyd's Mem. p. 346. Exeter surrendered about the same time, April 13, 1646.

^g Afterwards duchess of Orleans. See the Worthies, i. 144.

her, to instil unto her tender mind (if God had pleased to continue her with safety within the limits of this kingdom) the principles and belief of the English catholic church. This for the present was altogether honorary, and pointed only at his merit, which indeed was as much as the iniquity of those times would afford to any the most deserving personages. But yet the king, to signify his approbation of the doctor's excellent worth by a farther testimony of it, soon afterwards gave him a patent for his presentation to the town of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a living valued to be worth 400*l. per annum.*

This royal and bounteous favour the doctor modestly declined, continuing his attendance on the princess till the rendition of the city of Exeter to the parliament; notwithstanding the doctor accepted not of that other preferment of Dorchester; for that London was in his eye, as the most necessary and expedient place for finishing his aforesaid book, to which place the expiration of the war promised some kind of access, which since it could not otherwise be, the doctor did gladly submit to.

For general Fairfax, having by treaty reduced and disbanded my lord Hopton's army in Cornwall, came directly back to besiege Exeter, which garrison, upon consideration that no relief could be expected, and that resistance would but defer the resettling of the king and kingdom, (pressed also by the enemy as a cogent argument for their rendition,) having very honourable and comprehensive articles, both for their conscience and estates, delivered up the city to the parliament forces.

In these articles the doctor was included, and by the benefit of them was, without molestation or hinderance, permitted to come to the city of London, where he presently recommenced his laborious enterprise, and by the additional helps of books, the confluence and resort of learned men, his acquaintance, to their fleeing tyrannical courts and committees newly erected, made such a progress, that from thence he could take a fair prospect of his whole work.

Upon his first arrival he came *to his own*, (the parish of

Savoy,) *but they received him not*, the face of things was so altered; many of his parishioners dead, others removed, all of them generally so overawed by an imperious rabbi of both factions, presbytery and independency, one Mr. Bond^h, formerly a preacher at Exeter, then made by the pretended powers master of the Savoy. The doctor and he having countermarched, and changed ground, wherein different seed was sown of loyal obedience and treasonable sedition, that the doctor might have said of his parish what a learned historian said in another greater case, *Parochia in parochia quaerenda erat*.

But a living was not the design of the good doctor, who knew how incompatible the times and his doctrine must needs be. However as oft as he had private opportunities, he ceased not to assert the purity of the church of England, bewailing the sad condition into which the grievous abominable sins of the nation had so far plunged it, as to make it more miserable by bearing so many reproaches and calumnies grounded only upon its calamity. But some glimmering hopes of a settlement and understanding betwixt the king and the pretended houses appearing; the pious doctor betook himself to earnest prayers and petitions to God, that he would please to succeed that blessed work, doing that privately as a christian, which he might not publicly do as a subject, most fervently imploring in those families where his person and devotions were alike acceptable, the blessing of restoration in this afflicted church, and its defenceless defender, the kingⁱ.

That desired affair went on slowly and uncertainly, but so did not the doctor's book, for having recommended the first to the almighty Wisdom, he stood not still expecting the issue, but addressed himself to his study, affording no time but the leisure of his meals, which was short, to the hearing of news, with which the minds and mouths of men

^h John Bond, D. D. of St. John's college, Cambridge, made master of Trinity hall, by the parliamentary faction, at the visitation of that University. He was one of the assembly of divines,

and an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting scandalous and malignant ministers. See Wood's Ath. i. 379.

ⁱ In 1648. See the Church History, vi. 335.

were then full employed by the changeableness of the army, who played fast and loose with the king and parliament, till in conclusion they destroyed both.

Then indeed such an amazement struck the loyal pious doctor, when he first heard of that execrable design intended against the king's person, and saw the villany proceed so uncontrollably, that he not only surceased, but resolved to abandon that luckless work (as he was then pleased to call it). For what shall I write, said he, of the worthies of England, when this horrid act will bring such an infamy upon the whole nation, as will ever cloud and darken all its former and suppress its future rising glories?

But when through the seared impiety of those men that parricide was perpetrated, the good doctor deserted not his study alone, but forsook himself too, not caring for or regarding his concerns, (though the doctor was none of the most providential husband, by having store beforehand,) until such time as his prayers, tears and fasting, having better acquainted him with that sad dispensation, he began to revive from that dead pensiveness to which he had so long addicted himself.

He therefore now again renewed his former study, setting about it with unwearied diligence. About this time also it happened that the rectory of Waltham Abbey being vacant, and in the disposal of the right honourable earl of Carlisle^j, since deceased, he voluntarily and desirously conferred it on the doctor, and together made him his chaplain, both which he very piously and profitably performed, being highly beloved by that noble lord, and other gentlemen and inhabitants of the parish.

About this time also, many of the orthodox clergy began

^j James Hay, earl of Carlisle, and baron of Waltham. He was presented to Waltham in 1648, according to the *Biographia*. To this earl, who died in 1660, Fuller dedicated various pieces. See the *Dedication to the History of Waltham*, the *Pisgah Sight*, 237. and this *Work*, vol. ii. p. 311.

In the *Dedication* of his *Sermon, On Assurance*, to sir John Danvers,

he speaks in such a manner, as if he expected to be suspended. That he had at this time no fixed cure, may be inferred from what is stated in the *Pisgah Sight*, as quoted above; viz. that the earl kindly gave him the living of Waltham, with a more than adequate salary; at that time when he was wandering from place to place.

to appear again in the pulpits of London, through the zeal of some right worthy citizens, who hungered after the true and sincere word, from which they had so long been restrained; among the chief of whom was our good doctor, being settled lecturer for a time at St. Clement's lane near Lombard street, where he preached every Wednesday in the afternoon, to a very numerous and christian audience; and shortly after, from thence he was removed to St. Bride's in Fleet street in the same quality of lecturer, the day being changed to Thursday, where he preached with the same efficacy and success^k.

^k At this time also, he printed his *Abel Redivivus*. 4to Lond. 1651. Like the *Pisgah Sight*, which appeared the year before, it is dated from Waltham Abbey.

It may perhaps seem strange that Fuller should be allowed to pursue his calling unmolested, when the clergy in general were silenced by the tyranny of Cromwell. And it was even objected against him by his opponents as a proof of his want of loyalty and affection to the church. To this he replies in his appeal. "I have endeavoured (he says) to steer "my carriage by the compass "aforesaid (that is, bearing and "forbearing;) and my main motive thereunto was, that I might "enjoy the benefit of my ministry, "the bare using whereof is the "greatest advancement I am capable of in this life. I know all "stars are not of the same brightness and brightness; some "shine, some only twinkle: and "allowing myself of the latter size "and sort, I would not willingly "put out my own (though dim) "light in total darkness, nor would "bury my half-talent, hoping by "putting it forth, to gain another half-talent thereby, to the glory "of God and the good of others.

"But it will be objected against me, that it is suspicious, at the least, that I have bribed the "times with some base compliance "with them, because they have

"reflected so favourably upon me. "Otherwise how cometh it to pass, "that my fleece, like Gideon's, is "dry, when the rest of my brethren of the same party, are wet "with their own tears? I being "permitted preaching, and peaceable enjoying of a parsonage.

"I answer, first, I impute this peaceableness I enjoy, to God's undeserved goodness on my unworthiness. 'He hath not dealt thus with all my brethren,' above me in all respects. God maketh people sometimes *potius reperire quam invenire gratiam*, 'to find the favour they sought not for.' "If I am one of them whom God hath made 'to be pitied of those who carried me away captive,' (Ps. cvi. 46.) I hope I shall be thankful unto Him; and others, I hope, will not be envious at me for so great a mercy.

"Next to the fountain of God's goodness, I ascribe my liberty of preaching, to the favour of some great friends God hath raised up for me. It was not a childish answer, though the answer of a child to his father, taxing him with being proud of his new coat: 'I am glad (said he), but not proud of it.' Give me leave to be glad and joyful in myself, for my good friends; and to desire and endeavour their continuance and increase. 'A friend in the court' hath always been accounted 'as good as a

The doctor having continued some twelve years a widower, the war finding him so, had the better relished the loss of his first wife, by how much the freer it rendered him of care and trouble for her in those tumultuous times ; so as by degrees it had almost settled in him a persuasion of keeping himself in that state. But now an honourable and advantageous match presenting itself, and being recommended to him by the desires of his noble friends, he consented to the motion, taking to wife one of the sisters of the right honourable the Viscount Baltinglass ; by whom he hath issue one only son, now six years old, a very hopeful youth ; having had by his former wife another son, of the age of twenty-one years or thereabouts, now a hopeful student in Cambridge.

In the year 1655, when the usurping protector had published an interdict against ecclesiastical persons, schoolmasters and others, who had adhered to his late sacred majesty or assisted the present ; whereby they were prohibited to perform any ministerial office, teach school, &c. upon several pains and forfeitures, the good doctor forbore not to preach as he did before ; the convincing power either of his doctrine or his worth defending and keeping him out of the hands of that unreasonable man.

This unchristian barbarous cruelty of that trial sorely afflicted the good doctor in his first apprehensions of it, though after a little consultation and the encouragement of friends, and the strong persuasions of his own conscience, he came to a resolution to do his duty as a minister of Christ, and leave the issue to God. But he

“ penny in the council, or a pound
“ in the purse.”—

“ I must not forget, ‘ The Articles of Exeter,’ whereof I had
“ the benefit, living and waiting
“ there on the king’s daughter, at
“ the rendition thereof : articles,
“ which, both as penned and per-
“ formed, were the best in Eng-
“ land ;—thanks to their wisdom
“ who so warily made, and honesty
“ who so well observed them ! Nor
“ was it (though last-named) least

“ causal of my quiet, that (happy
“ criticism to myself as I may call
“ it !) I never was formally seques-
“ tered, but went, before driven
“ away, from my living ; which
“ took off the edge of the ordi-
“ nance against me, that the weight
“ thereof fell but slantingly upon
“ me. Thus when God will fasten
“ a favour on any person (though
“ never so unworthy) he ordereth
“ the concurrences of all things
“ contributive thereunto.” p. 303.

did not only look upon this prohibition in general as a severe punishment inflicted upon the nation, by removing their teachers into corners, nay remote corners of the world, if they disobeyed that edict, but in particular (at first view of it) as some punishment or infliction on himself, as if God had refused him and laid him aside as not fit to serve him; and this he referred to his former remissness in the discharge of that high function whereunto he was separated and called.

And now did he superabundantly exercise that grace of charity to all persons distressed and ruined by this sad occasion; what his own small estate could not do, he helped out by exhorting and persuading all men of his acquaintance or congregation, (for so was the church of England reduced, even in that to the form of that schism that ruined it,) or select auditory; so that what by his powerful example and as strong persuasions, he did minister effectually to their relief.

Not to omit one particular charitable office of this doctor to the same kind of sufferers: from the expiration of the war, he constantly retained one that had been a captain in the royal army, and whose fortunes and condition could neither keep him according to that degree, nor sustain or relieve him in any other. This the good doctor did out of a loyal and honourable sense of such persons' sufferings and contempts far unworthy their cause or their desert: and did therefore allow him 10*l.* yearly besides diet and lodging, till the captain died.

About this time the doctor became chaplain to the right honourable the lord [George] Berkeley¹, having quitted Waltham, in lieu whereof this lord presented him with the living of Cranford in Middlesex^m where his body is now deposited. How infinitely well beloved he was

¹ Of this very noble patron, and bountiful protector of the clergy, see the Dedication in the Church Hist. iv. 252, and the Appeal of injured Innocence.

^m He dates the Appeal from Cranford Moat-house. In 1650 this rectory was returned by the

parliamentary jurors, at 80*l.* per annum, with 15 acres of glebe. At that time it was held by Mr. Ashford. Fuller was presented, March 3, 1658, and was succeeded in it by the celebrated Dr. Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. See Lyson's Environs, p. 27.

there needs not be added to those accumulations of respect he found everywhere, for fear especially of resuscitating the recent grief of those parishioners for his late lamented loss.

He was a little before wooed also to accept of a living at — in Essex, which for some respects he owed the patron, and to employ that rich talent with which God had so bountifully trusted him, he undertook, and piously there continued his labours till his settlement at Londonⁿ.

In the interim came out a book of Dr. Heylyn's, called "Animadversions upon Mr. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History," wherein somewhat tartly (though with that judicious learning for which that doctor is most deservedly honoured) he taxed that book of some errors, &c. To this the doctor replied by a book styled "The Appeal of 'injured Innocence to the learned and ingenious Reader,'" being a very modest, but a most rational and polite defence to the aforesaid exceptions against that elaborate piece. The dispute and controversy was soon ended; the oil the doctor bestowed on this labour being poured into the fresh wound of this quarrel did so assuage the heat of the contest, that it was soon healed into a perfect amicable closure and mutual endearment^p.

ⁿ He seems to have had two great deliverances from death while he was in this county; for where he is speaking of the saffron in it, which grows so plentifully about the town of Walden, he calls it an admirable cordial; adding, that "under God I owe my life when 'sick of the small pox to the efficacy thereof;" and Dr. Baldwin Hamey, afterwards knighted, seems to have been his physician in this illness. (Fuller's Worthies in Essex, p. 317, or i. 492. See also his Latin inscription on the copper plate of Jewish idols, to Dr. Hamey in his Piagah Sight, &c. iv. p. 120. Also his Latin dedication to him in his Church History, f. 138, or i. 365.)

The other deliverance we have also in his own words, where he

says: "It is questionable whether 'the making of gunpowder be 'more profitable or more dangerous, the mills in my parish 'having been five times blown up 'within seven years; but blessed 'be God, without the loss of any 'one man's life." (Worthies, p. 319, or i. 495.)

Before he left Essex he made, as we are told, his last will. Biog. Brit. ib. 2061.

^o In 1659.

^p The Church History was printed in 1655. Heylyn's Animadversions in 1659. It was answered by Fuller in his Appeal the same year, and closed by a letter from Dr. Heylyn in his Certamen Epistolare, dated from "Lacie's court in 'Abingdon, May 16, 1659." Alluding to the length of time which

Indeed the grace that was supereminent in the good doctor was charity, both in giving and forgiving; as he had laboured during our civil broils after peace, so when that could not through our sins be attained, did he with the same earnestness press the duty of love, especially among brethren of the same afflicted and too much already divided church; and therefore was most exemplary in keeping the band of it himself, though in a matter that most nearly concerned his credit and fame, the chiefest worldly thing he studied and intended.

This constrained retrospection of the doctor's to secure and assist the far advanced strength of his foremost works, did a little retard and impede the arrear of his labours, which consisted of the flower and choice of all his abilities, and wherein his Worthies were placed; howbeit this proved but a halt to those encumbrances and difficulties which he had all along before met, and soon set that book on foot again.

had elapsed from the publication of the Church History to that of Heylyn's Animadversions, Fuller says: that after some one had told him that Heylyn would probably have answered his book had it not been for his blindness, "not hearing any more for many months after, I conceived myself secure from any wind in that quarter." p. 286.

Respecting this work the author makes the following happy and ingenuous confession in his Appeal, p. 300. "Mothers minding to wean their children use to put soot, wormwood, or mustard on the nipples of their breasts. God foresaw I might suck to a surfeit in writing histories, which hath been a thief in the lamp of my life, wasting much oil thereof. My head and hand had robbed my heart in such delightful studies. Wherefore he raised the bitter pen of the Animadvector to wean me from such digressions from my vocation. I now experimentally find the truth of

Solomon's words: *Of making many books there is no end.*" (Eccl. xii. 12.) Not but that all perfect books (I mean perfect in sheets, otherwise none save scripture perfect) have *finis* in the close thereof; or that any author is so irrational, but he propounds an end to himself before he begins it; but that *in making many books there is no end*; that is, the writers of them seldom or never do attain that end which they propound to themselves, especially of squinting at sinister ends, as who is not flesh and blood? Such as project wealth to themselves are commonly by unwise managing or casual mis-carriage, impaired thereby in their estates. Others who designed to themselves (with the builders of Babel) to get them a name, commonly meet with shame and disgrace. Or else when their books are ended, yet they are not ended; because though never so cautiously written, some antagonists will take

This was the last remora to it, the doctor going on a smooth swift pace while all things else were retrograde in the kingdom, through the tyrannical plots and stratagems of the usurper Cromwell; so as toward the beginning of that *mirabilis annus* 1660 he had it ready for the press; to which as soon as the wonders of his majesty's restitution were over, (in the thankful contemplation whereof the good doctor was so piously fixed as nothing else might presume to intrude upon his raise dgladdened spirits,) he brought it, taking the *auspicia* of that happy and famous juncture of time for the commencement of this everlasting monument of himself, as well as all other English noble deceased persons.

A while before, to complete the doctor's contentment as to his ministry also, he was invited to his former lecturer's place at the Savoy, who even from his departure had suffered under an insufficient or disloyal and malicious clergy; and therefore stood in need of an able and dutiful son of the church to reduce and lead them in the right way and the old paths; for this people (his ancient flock) the doctor had always a more especial respect and kindness, which was the rather heightened in him out of a compassion to their state and condition. Nor did he more tenderly affect them than they universally respect him, receiving him (as indeed he was) as an angel of God, sent to minister unto them heavenly things, in exchange whereof they freely gave him their hearts and hands.

"up the bucklers against them,
"so that they must begin again
"after they have ended, (or sink
"in their credits,) to write in their
"own vindication: which is my
"case, enough to take off my
"edge, formerly too keen, in
"making multiplicity of books.

"I confess I have yet one His-
"tory [the Worthies] ready for
"the press, which I hope will be
"for God's glory and honour of
"our nation. This new built ship
"is now on the stocks, ready to
"be launched; and being a vessel
"of great hurthen, God send me
"some good adventurers to bear
"part of the expense. This done

"I will never meddle more with
"making any more books of this
"nature. It is a provident way
"before writing leaves us to leave
"off writing, and the rather be-
"cause scribbling is the frequen-
"tive thereof.

"If therefore my petitioning
"and optative Amen shall meet
"with God's commissioning and
"imperative Amen, I will hereafter
"totally attend the concerns
"of my calling, and what directly
"and immediately shall tend to
"the advance of devotion in my-
"self and in others, as preparatory
"to my dissolution out of this state
"of mortality."

The doctor, through the injury and iniquity of the times, had for near twenty years been barred of all profits of his prebendaryship of Salisbury,^r (of which before,) but upon the return of the king, those revenues and possessions, so sacrilegiously alienated from the church, reverted also to their rightful proprietors. This accession and additional help did very much encourage the doctor in the carrying on of his book, which being large would require an able purse to go through with, and he was very solicitous (often presaging he should not live to see it finished, though satisfied of his present healthy constitution)^s to have it done out of hand; to which purpose part of the money accruing to him from his Salisbury prebendaryship was designed.

He therefore hastened his book with all expedition; and whereas he had intended to continue it but till 1659, and had therefore writ it in such language as those times of usurpation (during the most part of which it was compiled) would suffer such a subject and concerning matter to be drest in; he now reviewed it over, giving truth and his own most excellent fancy their proper becoming ornaments, scope and clearness. But neither the elevation of the usurpers, nor the depression of the royalists, and the *vice versa* of it did ever incline or sway him to additions, intercalations, or expunctions of persons, whom he hath recommended for "Worthies;" no such thing as a Pym or Protector, whom the mad world cried up for brave: drops of compassionate tears they did force from him, but his resolute ink was not to be stained by their black actions. A pen full of such would serve to blot out the whole roll of fame.

This constancy of the doctor's to his first model and main of his design doth most evidently argue his firm persuasion and belief of the reviving of the royal cause, since he wrote the most part during those improbable times of any restitution; and he had very ill consulted his own advantage if he had not well consulted the oracles of God.

^r Alluding to this, he says in his Appeal, "for king Charles' sake I lost none of the worst livings, and one of the best prebends in England."—p. 286.

^s The presage was unfortunately verified; for the work was not published till 1662, and the doctor died August 16, 1661.

As the last felicity of this doctor's life, he was made chaplain in extraordinary to his majesty, being also in a well grounded expectation of some present further advancement; but here death stept in, and drew the curtain betwixt him and his succeeding ecclesiastical dignities.[†]

And would a curtain were drawn here too, that the sad remainder of this task were enjoined to the last trump, when we shall know likewise wherefore God was pleased to take him from us, and be satisfied with his providence! Pity the envious should find such an imperfection in him as death; pity the grateful should mourn so long and so much for the loss of him, and his most incomparable gifts and endowments, without any redress; but—*infandos Fullere jubes renovare dolores*—we must continue our discourse though upon a discontinued subject, and write the much deplored death of Dr. Fuller.

Having in August returned from Salisbury, whither he went to settle and let his revenue as prebend of that deanery, he returned to his charge at London. It was a very sickly time in the country, the distempers most rife were feverish agues, the disease of which our doctor died; and therefore it was judged, that he had brought the infection of his disease thence, which broke out violently upon him soon after his return, Dr. Nicholas the reverend dean of Paul's dying near the same time upon his coming from the same place. For being desired to preach a marriage sermon on Sunday the twelfth of August to a kinsman of his, who was to be wedded the day after, the good doctor lovingly undertook it; but on that Sunday at dinner felt himself very much indisposed, complaining of a dizziness in

[†] At the Restoration Fuller wrote a poem on Charles II., published in the Worthies, iii. 385. At the same time "he was chosen chaplain in extraordinary to his majesty, created doctor of divinity by the king's letters of recommendation to the University of Cambridge, dated August 2, 1660; and so well-grounded was his expectation of higher advancement, that had he lived about a twelvemonth longer, it was thought he would have been made, upon the translation of Dr. Gauden from Exeter to Worcester, on his death soon after, bishop of one of those sees, through the Berkeleys' interest with the queen mother." Biog. Brit. 2065.

his head: whereupon his son intreated him that he would go and lie down on bed, and forbear preaching that afternoon, informing him how dangerous those symptoms were; but the doctor would not be persuaded, but to church he would go, and perform his promise to his friend; saying, he had gone up often into the pulpit sick, but always came down well again, and he hoped he should do as well now through God's strengthening grace.

Being in the pulpit he found himself very ill, so that he was apprehensive of the danger; and therefore before his prayer, addressed himself thus to his congregation: "I find myself very ill, but I am resolved by the grace of God to preach this sermon to you here though it be my last." A sad presage, and more sadly verified!

He proceeded in his prayer and sermon very perfectly, till in the middle (never using himself to notes, other than the beginning word of each head or division) he began to falter, but not so much out, but that he quickly recollected himself, and very pertinently concluded. After he had a while sat down, he was not able to rise again, but was fain to be led down the pulpit stairs by two men into the reading place. He had promised also to christen a child (of a very good friend of his) then in the church, and the parent did earnestly importune him to do it, and the good doctor was as willing as he desiring; but the doctor's son^u shewing him the extreme danger there was of his father, he desisted from his request.

Much ado there was to persuade the doctor to go home in a sedan; he saying still he should be well by and by, and would go along with them; but at last, finding himself worse and worse, he yielded to go, but not to his old lodgings, (which were convenient to him in the Savoy,) but to his new one in Covent Garden. Being come thither, they had him to bed, and presently sent for Dr. Scarborough,^{*}

^u John, who set forth the Worthies.

^{*} This sir Charles Scarborough, the favourite pupil of Dr. Harvey, was physician to the duke of York, and an intimate friend of the cele-

brated Hobbes. Lyson, ib. 24. Letters from the Bodleian, ii. p. 268. Dr. Charlton who was physician in ordinary to Charles I. and II., according to Wood, was the son of Walter Charlton, M.A., some-

but he being in the country Dr. Charlton came, who with the exactest skill and care possible, addressed himself to the recovery of the good doctor. The disease was judged by him to be a malignant fever, such as then raged every where, and was better known by the name of the New disease, which like a plague had swept away a multitude of people throughout the kingdom. Therefore phlebotomy was directed, and some twenty ounces of blood taken from him, and yet nevertheless the paroxysms continued, having totally bereft the doctor of all sense, so much as to give any the least account of his condition; the physicians now being at a loss, and not able to advise any further against the insuperable violence and force of the distemper.

Yet in this sad and oppressed condition, some comfortable signs and assurances were given by the good doctor, by his frequent lifting up his hands and his eyes; which devotion ended in the folding of his arms, and sighs fetched questionless from a perfect contrition for this life, and from an earnest desire after and hope of that to come.

Tuesday, August 14. The good doctor gave sad symptoms of a prevailing disease, and Dr. Charlton despaired of his recovery, his fever being so fierce and pertinacious, and which resisted all remedies. As was said almost from the very first decumbency, which was near as soon as he was ill, his senses were seized and surprised, with little or no remission of the distemper, which caused him to talk sometimes, but of nothing more frequently than his books, calling for pen and ink, and telling his sorrowful attendants

time vicar of Ilminster, and afterwards rector of Shepton-Mallet in Somersetshire. He was born Feb. 2, 1619, at the latter place, became a commoner of Magdalen-hall, Oxford, in 1635, at which time he was intrusted to the care of the celebrated Dr. Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. By the favour of Charles I. he obtained the degree of doctor in physic, in 1643, being at the same time appointed physician in ordinary to his majesty. When the royal cause declined he retired to London, and

pursued his practice, obtaining considerable eminence. In 1689 he was chosen president of the College of Physicians; and died in 1707. Wood characterises him as "a learned and an unhappy man, aged and grave, yet too much given to romance." *Athen.* ii. 1112. Among other things he was a great antiquarian, and corresponded with the celebrated Olaus Wormius. See a list of his writings in Wood, *ib.* Letters from the Bodleian, i. 5. ii. 630.

that by and by he should be well, and would write it out, &c. But on Wednesday noon the presages of a dislodging soul were apparent in him ; for nature being overpowered, the vitals burnt up by such a continual heat ; his lamp of life began to decay, his fever and strength abating together, so that it pleased God to restore to him the use of the faculties of his soul, which he very devoutly and thankfully employed in a Christian preparation for death, earnestly imploring the prayers of some of his reverend brethren with him, who then were sorrowful visitors of him in these his last agonies, which accordingly was performed, the good doctor with all the intentness of piety joining with them, and recommending himself with all humble thankfulness and submission to God's welcome providence. Nay, so highly was he affected with God's pleasure concerning him, that he could not endure any person to weep or cry, but would earnestly desire them to refrain, highly extolling and preferring his condition, as a translation to a blessed eternity.

Nor would he therefore endure to hear any thing of the world or worldly matters, for the settling and disposition whereof he had before made no provision, and was desired by some to give some present direction for the better accommodating the several concerns of his family : but the doctor totally rejected any thoughts of those matters, having his mind engaged and prepossessed with things of ravishing and transcendent excellencies. Even his beloved book aforesaid, the darling of his soul, was totally neglected, not a syllable dropping from him in reference to the perfecting and finishing thereof, which he had now brought so near to the birth. Nothing but heaven and the perfections thereof, the consummations of grace in glory, must fill up the room of his capacious soul, which now was flitting and ready to take wing to those mansions of bliss.

For on Thursday morning, August 16, 1661, this reverend and painful minister of Christ Jesus, having finished his course, and run the race that was set before him, and fought a good fight, breathed out his wearied spirit into the hands of his Redeemer to his own everlasting fruition

and consolation, but to the irreparable loss and very exceeding sorrow of all men, to whom religion, piety, virtue, and supereminent learning were ever acceptable. And whatever the present envious world may think, unprejudiced posterity will undoubtedly erect him a shrine, and pay him those *justa* of honour and fame, which to his memory most duly and rightly do belong.

After he had laid a while dead, an eruption of blood burst from his temples, which was conjectured to have been long settled there, through too much study, in the methodizing and completing those various pieces in his "*Worthies General*," of which he was prophetically afraid he should never live to see the finishing.

He was buried at the desire and at the costs of the right honourable his noble patron the lord Berkeley, at his parish of Cranford in Middlesex, in the chancel of the said church, and attended thither by at least two hundred of his brethren of the ministry, such a solemn assembly being scarce to be paralleled, where the reverend dean of Rochester, Dr. Hardy, preached his funeral sermon; being a very elegant and extraordinary pathetical deploration of so great a loss, which hath not yet (though it is hoped and much desired may) passed the press; to which learned piece with all humble submission he referred the praises and commendations of the deceased doctor, being thereby so excellently well transmitted to his everlasting rest.

Though we have now brought this venerable doctor to his repository, and laid him in his silent grave: yet there remain some further offices due to his yet speaking virtues and graces. The smooth and fair track whereof could not be so well insisted on in the foregoing considerations of him, as in *via*, and that so salebrose and difficult by the

⁊ This inscription was placed upon his monument: "Hic jacet Thomas Fuller, e Collegio Sydneiano in Academia Cantabrigiensi S.S.T.D. hujus Ecclesiae rector: ingenii acumine, memoriae felicitate, morum probitate, omnigena doctrina, historia præ-

"sertim, uti varia ejus summa
"æquanimittate composita testan-
"tur, celeberrimus. Qui dum viros
"Angliæ illustres opere posthumo
"immortalitati consecrare medi-
"tatus est, ipse immortalitatem
"consecutus est, Aug. 15, 1661."
Lysons, ib. p. 23.

unevenness and asperity of the times he lived in : but do now orderly lead us without any diversion, as he is in glory, to the pursuit of his fame and memory.

In tendency whereunto it is requisite, to enliven that portrait of him prefixed to this manual, with some of those natural graces which were unexpressible in him by the pencil ; withal to shew what a convenient habitation learning and virtue had chosen, in which nothing could be complained of and faulted, but that they took it for so short a term.

He was of stature somewhat tall, exceeding the mean, with a proportionable bigness to become it, but no way inclining to corpulency : of an exact straightness of the whole body, and a perfect symmetry in every part thereof. He was of a sanguine constitution, which beautified his face with a pleasant ruddiness, but of so grave and serious an aspect, that it awed and discountenanced the smiling attracts of that complexion. His head adorned with a comely light-coloured hair, which was so, by nature exactly curled, (an ornament enough of itself in this age to denominate a handsome person, and wherefore all skill and art is used,) but not suffered to overgrow to any length unseeming his modesty and profession.

His gait and walking was very upright and graceful, becoming his well-shapen bulk : approaching something near to that we term majestic ; but that the doctor was so well known to be void of any affectation or pride. Nay, so regardless was he of himself in his garb and raiment, in which no doubt his vanity would have appeared, as well as in his stately pace ; that it was with some trouble to himself to be either neat or decent ; it mattered not for the outside, while he thought himself never too curious and nice in the dresses of his mind.

Very careless also he was to seeming inurbanity in the modes of courtship and demeanour, deporting himself much according to the old English guise, which for its ease and simplicity suited very well with the doctor, whose time was designed for more elaborate business ; and whose motto might have been " Sincerity."

As inobservant he was of persons, unless business with them, or his concerns pointed them out and adverted him; seeing and discerning were two things. Often in several places hath he met with gentlemen of his nearest and greatest acquaintance, at a full rencounter and stop, whom he hath endeavoured to pass by, not knowing, that is to say, not minding of them, till rectified and recalled by their familiar compellations.

This will not (it may be presumed) and justly cannot be imputed unto any indisposedness and unaptness of his nature, which was so far from rude and untractable, that it may be confidently averred he was the most complacent person in the nation, as his converse and writings, with such a freedom of discourse and quick jocundity of style, do sufficiently evince.

He was a perfect walking library, and those that would find delight in him must turn him; he was to be diverted from his present purpose with some urgency; and when once unfixed and unbent, his mind freed from the incumbency of his study, no man could be more agreeable to civil and serious mirth, which limits his most heightened fancy never transgressed.

He had the happiness of a very honourable, and that very numerous acquaintance, so that he was no way undisciplined in the arts of civility; yet he continued *semper idem*, which constancy made him always acceptable to them.

At his diet he was very sparing and temperate, but yet he allowed himself the repasts and refreshings of two meals a day; but no lover of dainties, or the inventions of cookery; solid meats better fitting his strength of constitution: but from drink very much abstemious, which questionless was the cause of that uninterrupted health he enjoyed till this his first and last sickness. Of which felicity as he himself was partly the cause by his exactness in eating and drinking, so did he the more dread the sudden infliction of any disease, or other violence of nature, fearing this his care might amount to a presumption in the eyes of the great Disposer of all things; and so it pleased God it should happen.

But his great abstinence of all was from sleep; and strange it was, that one of such a fleshy and sanguine composition could overwatch so many heavy propense inclinations to rest. For this in some sort he was beholden to his care in diet aforesaid, (the full vapours of a repletion in the stomach ascending to the brain causing that usual drowsiness we see in many,) but most especially to his continual custom, use, and practice, which had so subdued his nature, that it was wholly governed by his active and industrious mind.

And yet this is a further wonder; he did scarcely allow himself, from his first degree in the university, any recreation or easy exercise, no not so much as walking, but very rare and seldom; and that not upon his own choice, but as being compelled by friendly yet forcible invitations; till such time as the war posted him from place to place, and after that his constant attendance on the press in the edition of his books; when was a question which went the fastest, his head or his feet: so that in effect he was a very stranger, if not an enemy to all pleasure.

Riding was the most pleasant, because his necessary convenience; the doctor's occasions, especially his last work, requiring travel, to which he had so accustomed himself; so that this diversion (like princes' banquets, only to be looked upon by them, not tasted of) was rather made such than enjoyed by him.

So that if there were any felicity or delight which he can be truly said to have had, it was either in his relations or in his works. As to his relations, certainly no man was a more tender, more indulgent a husband and a father. His conjugal love in both matches being equally blessed with the same issue, kept a constant tenor in both marriages, which he so improved, that the harmony of his affections stilled all discord and charmed the noise of passion.

Towards the education of his children he was exceeding careful, allowing them any thing conducing to that end, beyond the present measure of his estate; which it is well hoped will be returned to the memory of so good a father,

in their early imitation of him in all those good qualities and literature, to which they have now such an hereditary claim.

As to his books, which we usually call the issue of the brain, he was more than fond, totally abandoning and forsaking all things to follow them. And yet, if correction and severity (so this may be allowed the gravity of the subject) be also the signs of love, a stricter and more careful hand was never used. True it is, they did not grow up without some errors, like the tares: nor can the most refined pieces of any of his antagonists boast of perfection. He that goes an unknown and beaten track in a dubious way, though he may have good directions, yet if in the journey he chance to stray, cannot well be blamed; they have perchance ploughed with his heifer, and been beholden to those authorities, for their exceptions, which he first gave light to.

To his neighbours and friends he behaved himself with that cheerfulness and plainness of affection and respect as deservedly gained him their highest esteem. From the meanest to the highest he omitted nothing what to him belonged in his station, either in a familiar correspondence or necessary visits; never suffering intreaties of that which either it was his duty, or in his power to perform. The quickness of his apprehension, helped by a good nature, presently suggested unto him (without putting them to the trouble of an *innuendo*) what their several affairs required, in which he would spare no pains; insomuch that it was a piece of absolute prudence to rely upon his advice and assistance. In a word, to his superiors he was dutifully respectful, without ceremony or officiousness; to his equals he was discretely respectful, without neglect or unsociableness; and to his inferiors (whom indeed he judged Christianly none to be) civilly respectful, without pride or disdain.

But all these so eminent virtues, and so sublimed in him, were but as foils to those excellent gifts wherewith God had endued his intellectuals. He had a memory of that vast comprehensiveness, that he is deservedly known

for the first inventor of that noble art, whereof having left behind him no rules or directions, save only what fell from him in discourse, no further account can be given but a relation of some very rare experiments of it made by him.

He undertook once, in passing to and fro from Temple-bar to the furthest conduit in Cheapside, at his return again, to tell every sign as they stood in order on both sides of the way, repeating them either backward or forward as they should choose, which he exactly did, not missing or misplacing one, to the admiration of those that heard him.^z

The like also would he do in words of different languages, and of hard and difficult prolation, to any number whatsoever. But that which was most strange, and very rare in him, was his way of writing, which, something like the Chinese's, was from the top of the page to the bottom. The manner thus. He would write near the margin the first words of every line down to the foot of the paper; then would he, beginning at the head again, fill up every one of these lines, which, without any interlineations or spaces, but with the full and equal length, would so adjust the sense and matter, and so aptly connex and conjoin the ends and beginnings of the said lines, that he could not do it better, as he hath said, if he had writ all out in a continuation.

The treasury of this happy memory was a very great advantage to his preaching; but being assisted with as rich invention and extraordinary reading, did absolutely complete him for the pulpit. His great stores both of school and case divinity, both of history and philosophy, of arts and tongues, his converse in the scriptures, the fathers and human writings, had so abundantly furnished him, that without the other additaments he had been very eminent among his function. Now all so happily met together, such a constellation could portend no less than some wonder of men, who should be famous in his generation.

* At that time, it must be remembered, all shops had their signs,

Not to omit to this purpose (however to the first intuition it may seem to the reverend and graver divines a precipitancy, and a venturous rashness in any man with such unprovidedness to step into the pulpit) that this venerable doctor, upon some sudden emergent occasions, upon two hours' warning, and upon a subject of his friend's choice, which was knotty and very difficult, hath performed the task enjoined him with much accurateness; such his art of method, besides that his understanding was strangely opened for the unlocking and opening of scriptures, which he would do very genuinely and evidently, and then embellish his explication with curious variety of expression.

For his ordinary manner of teaching, it was in some kind different from the usual preachers' method of most ministers in those times. For he seldom made any excursions into the handling of common places, or drew his subject matter out at length by any prolixly continued discourse. But the main frame of his public sermons, if not wholly, consisted (after some brief and genuine resolution of the context, and explication of the terms, where need required) of notes and observations, with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the text, and naturally without constraint, issuing or flowing either from the main body, or from the several parts of it, with some useful applications annexed thereunto; which, though either of them long insisted upon, yet were wont with that vivacity to be propounded and pressed by him, as well might, and oft did, pierce deep into the hearts of his hearers, and not only rectify and clear their judgments, but have a powerful work also upon their affections.

Nor was it his manner to quote many scriptures, finding it troublesome to himself, and supposing it would be so to his auditors also; besides deeming it the less needful, in regard that his observations being grounded immediately on the scripture he handled, and by necessary consequence thence deduced, seemed to receive proof sufficient from it.

A constant form of prayer he used, as in his family, so in his public ministry; only varying or adding, upon special occasions, as occurrences intervening required, because

not only hesitation (which the good doctor, for all his strength of memory and invention, was afraid of before so awful a presence as the Majesty of heaven) was in prayer more offensive than other discourse, but because such excursions in that duty, in the extempore way, were become the idol of the multitude.

In his Mixed Contemplations read these words: "Let such new practices as are to be brought into our church be for a time candidates and probationers on their good behaviour, to see how the temper of people will fit them, and they fadge with it, before they be publicly enjoined.

"Let them be like St. Paul's deacons, 1 Tim. iii. 10, first be proved, then be used, if found blameless. I cannot therefore but commend the discretion of such statesmen, who knowing the Directory to be but a stranger, and considering the great inclination the generality of our nation had to the Common Prayer, made their temporary act to stand in force but for three years*."

He could as well declare his mind and errand, and of all others likewise with as much plainness, clearness, and (which is more) reverence, as any of those who cried up the Spirit, and their own way, in opposition to the laws and the judgment of antiquity; so to take the people with their newfangled words and licentious easiness of discoursing with God Almighty, whose attributes they squared to their petitions, that it be not said, wills.

As he was an enemy to the inventions of men obtruded upon the blessed Spirit in that irreverent and profane manner of praying and revelation; so was he likewise, on the other side, a professed and avowed adversary to the mass and traditions, which caused him no little slander and obloquy. But the spirit of this pious doctor was exceedingly stirred in him against all popish insinulators; because he was too sensible that through the mad zeal of the vulgar, whom they had by Jesuitical practices inflamed, the house of God in these kingdoms was set in combustion.

* Mixed Contemplations on these ditations on all kinds of Prayers, Times, §. 23. Compare also, Me- §. 11, 12.

Therefore with much prudence, courage, and boldness, did he everywhere in his books, as occasion offered, unmask the deceits and designs, resist and curb the pride, convince and lay open the errors of the church of Rome; though he never wrote any thing particularly by way of controversy against it, because, as he said, there was no end of it; and more than sufficient had already been wrote, if any ingenuity had been in the adherents of that see to have submitted to truth.

Nor was there ever any of that religion who were so hardy as to challenge or tax the doctor but obliquely for any thing wherewith he had charged them, either of apostasy, heresy, or manifest idolatry; their abuse of antiquity in their rasures and additions, which did very often occur to him in most of his books, from which they were sure to hear of them to the purpose. It much rejoiced the Roman party, when that misunderstanding happened betwixt doctor Heylyn and himself about his Ecclesiastical History, though they caught no fish in those troubled waters. While they tossed their proud billows forward and backward, the protestant cause was safely anchored and moored between them.

And as he never had occasion to engage in any polemical discourse with any of that party, so in these miserable bandyings of our late unhappy times did he always refrain from stickling on any side; though it was sufficiently known how firmly he was grounded and addict to the true protestant religion, in opposition to the innovations of presbytery and the schism of independency, against whom also he had a zeal, but allayed with a greater compassion than to the papist; distinguishing betwixt the seducers and the seduced, whom notwithstanding he did very severely deal withal in his writings. One instance whereof take in his Mixed Contemplations: "I am sad that I may add with too much truth, that one man will at last be divided in himself, distracted often betwixt many opinions; that what is reported of Tostatus, lying on his deathbed, *in multitudine controversiarum non habuit quod crederet*; amongst the multitude of persuasions through

“ which he had passed, he knew not where to cast anchor, “ and fix himself at last^b.” So that he may be said to have been a right-handed enemy to the stubborn Romanist, and a left-handed one to the cunning sectary.

He was wont to call those controversies concerning episcopacy, and the new-invented arguments against the church of England, with the answers and refutation thereof, *ήμερόβια*, things of a day’s life, and of no permanency; the church being built upon a rock, as no storms could shake or move it, so needed it not any defences of art or learning; being of the same mind with sir Henry Wotton, *Disputandi pruritus, scabies ecclesiæ*.

He was wholly conversant during the broils and dissensions of the clergy, in the thoughts and considerations of that text, *Let your moderation be known unto all men*; on which place he once preached a while before his majesty’s restitution to a very great auditory; little imagining the subsequent words, for *the Lord is at hand*, were so near the fulfilling in the merciful visitations of God towards these miserable nations.

In this he was the same still, but more solicitous in the glimmering of that happy revolution; when he plainly saw how indispensably necessary the mutual condescensions of all parties were to the establishment and consolidating of peace. (Mixed Contemplations, to this purpose again.) “ Peace in our land, like St. Paul at Athens, be- “ twixt two sects of philosophers, is now like to be encoun- “ tered with two such opposite parties: such as are for the “ liberties of a commonwealth, and such as are for an ab- “ solute monarchy in the full length thereof. But I hope “ neither of them both are so considerable in their number, “ parts, and influences on the people, but that the moderate “ party, advocates for peace, will prevail for the settling “ thereof.” ^c Ibidem: “ The episcopal party doth desire and “ expect that the presbyterian should remit of his rigid- “ ness, in order to an expedient between them. The pres- “ byterians require that the episcopal side abate of their “ authority to advance an accommodation. But some on

^b Mixed Contemplations on these Times, §. 4.

^c Ibid. §. 35.

“ both sides are so wedded to their wilfulness, stand so stiff
 “ on their judgments, are so hot and high in their passions,
 “ they will not part with the least punctilio in their opin-
 “ ions and practices. Such men’s judgments cannot pre-
 “ tend to the exactness of the Gibeonites, Judges xx. 16,
 “ that *they hit the mark of [the truth at] an hair’s breadth,*
 “ *and fail not:* yet will they not abate an hair’s breadth
 “ in order to unity; they will take all, but tender nothing;
 “ make motions with their mouths, but none with their
 “ feet, for peace, not stirring a step towards it. O that we
 “ could see some proffers and performances of condescen-
 “ sion on either side, and then let others who remain obsti-
 “ nate be branded with *Perez*, Gen. xxxviii. 29, *the breach*
 “ *be upon them.*^d”

Thus the good doctor’s bent and resolutions were for a fair and mutual compliance, out of a tender jealousy of this divided church; seeing other men resolved indeed into an obstinate persistence and adherence to their opinions, who would rather rashly cut the Gordian knot of union and concord, to fulfil the doubtful oracles of their own judgment, than leisurely and with patience endeavour the untying of it, which would set the church of God at perfect liberty, and release it from the violence of prejudiced and captivated reason.

How much this lay upon his spirit, being the *Benjamin* of his love above all other duties and necessities in a Christian conversation or government, may seem further tedious to relate; but because it is so genuine a trait of his elegant pen, and so like him, it is hoped that this excellent feature copied here, in this rude transcript of him, may be of delight (amidst the mass and undigestedness of these collections) to the curious reader.—“ In my father’s
 “ time there was a fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge,
 “ a native of Carleton in Leicestershire, where the people,
 “ through some occult cause, are troubled with a wharling
 “ in their throats, so that they cannot plainly pronounce the
 “ letter R. This scholar, being conscious of his infirmity,
 “ made a Latin oration of the usual expected length, with-

^d Mixed Contemplations on these Times, §. 19.

“ out an R therein: and yet did he not only select words fit
 “ for his easy pronunciation, but also as pure and expres-
 “ sive for signification; to shew that men might speak with-
 “ out being beholden to the dog’s letter. Our English
 “ pulpits for these last eighteen years have had in them too
 “ much caninal anger vented by snapping and snarling
 “ spirits on both sides. *But if you bite and devour one*
 “ *another*, saith the apostle, Gal. v. 15, *take heed ye be not*
 “ *devoured one of another*. Think not that our sermons
 “ must be silent if not satirical, as if divinity did not afford
 “ smooth subjects enough to be seasonably insisted on in
 “ this juncture of time. Let us try our skill whether we
 “ cannot preach without any dog letter or biting word; the
 “ art is half learned by intending, and wholly by serious
 “ endeavouring of it. I am sure that such soft sermons
 “ will be more easy for the tongue of the preacher in pro-
 “ nouncing them, less grating to the ears of pious people
 “ that hear them, and most edifying to the heart of both
 “ speaker and hearer.” Again, and for all—“ O may
 “ the state be pleased so far to reflect on this *Isaac*, as to
 “ settle the inheritance on him! Let protestant religion
 “ be only countenanced by law, be owned and acknowledged
 “ for the received religion of the nation. As for other
 “ sects, (the sons of Keturah,) we grudge not that gifts be
 “ bestowed on them. Let them have a toleration, (and
 “ that I assure you is a great gift indeed,) and be per-
 “ mitted peaceably, but privately, to enjoy their con-
 “ sciences, both in opinions and practices. Such favour
 “ may safely, not to say ought justly, be afforded unto
 “ them, so long as they continue peaceably in our Israel,
 “ and disturb not the state.”

This is the rather inserted, both for the cautelousness of
 the expression he used, and which those times required;
 and by which discrete and amicable way our differences
 and breaches were likeliest to be made up, the disguises
 of words to the undeceiving of a misled people into the
 right way of their felicity, who had all along been driven
 with speeches, and such like parliament oratory, being

* Mixed Contemplations on these Times, §. 20.

† Ibid. §. 21.

the facilest method of introducing that peace which by the same arts was violated. Storms begin from and end in calms; the gentle breathings of soft and temperate spirits commencing the outrages of other men's violent passions, and terminating and stopping their fury.

This was a charitable and also a reasonable and political design of the doctor, very well applied in the crisis of that distemper; whose acute pains, in the stripping of those people of their illegal possessions and purchases, (though in time they might and would naturally and centrally return to their just owners,) were to be alleviated and eased by some healing balsam; not to be lanced and exasperated by the sharp and keen incisions of invectives and exprobrations; those tumours and swellings of usurped estates being better to be laid by lenitives and suppling oils, than to be eaten away by corrosives, or cut off by cruel instruments.

This policy, more eminent in illustrious persons, (though not the charity of the good doctor,) God succeeded in that juncture of time, by amusing the most considerable persons, as well as the generality of the engaged rebellious faction and party, into a supineness, or (which was the greater work of Providence, that doth commonly go by a method) confident reliance on the king's grace and kindness. Those who would not trust his blessed father, though under confirmation of his royal seal and word, to be further strengthened by their own authority in parliament, were quiet and contented in the only bare expectation what his royal son would promise them.

But the doctor's charity, as before, though so extensive, was far overreached by that liberty of conscience, which interest and self-will and the pride of schism stretched beyond all convenient or reasonable limits; his condescensions to such as went by the name of *tender Christians* signifying no more than some acts of grace and pardon lately passed. So that all the good the doctor did in that respect was to himself; the benefit of that love and charity being returned and multiplied on him to his everlasting comfort.

But what the measure of his charity could not fulfil was made up in his piety and constant intercession, that they might prove such as he in his best thoughts had wished them. He was most earnest in this duty of prayer; and his often accesses to that mercy-seat had made it a place of acquaintance and free reception. As his study importuned him at very unreasonable hours, so it opportuned his devotion in the early and late sacrifices, which he indispensably and firstly offered to the "God of Heaven;" a phrase for its comprehensiveness of the divine Majesty, in the glory and perfection of it above all other his creatures, very familiar and usual with the doctor, by way of emphasis or reverend instance.

If it may pass here without any rigid adversion, a very excellent passage of the doctor's (in the beginning of the anarchy under a commonwealth) would seek admittance, having relation to this duty in hand. Soon after the king's death he preached in a church near London, and a person then in great power, now levelled with his fellows, was present at the sermon. In his prayer before which he said, "God in his due time settle our nation on the true foundation thereof." The then great man demanded of him what he meant by *the true foundation*? He answered, he was no lawyer nor statesman, and therefore skill in such matters could not be expected from him. But being pressed further to explain himself, whether thereby he did not intend the king, lords, and commons, he answered, that it was a part of his prayer to God, who had more knowledge than he ignorance in all things, that He knew what was the true foundation; and so remitted the factious querist to God's wisdom and goodness.

This was a kind of his experiments in prayer, which were many and very observable; God often answering his desires in kind, and that immediately when he was in some distresses: and God's providence in taking care and providing for him in his whole course of life, wrought in him a firm resolution to depend upon Him, in what condition soever he should be; and he found that providence to



continue in that tenour to his last end. Indeed he was wholly possessed with a holy fear of and reliance in God; was conscionable in his private duties, and in sanctifying the sabbath, being much offended at its profanation by disorderly men; and that both in reference to the glory of God and the scandal brought on the church of England, as if it allowed (as some have impudently affirmed) such wicked licentiousness. For his own particular, very few Sundays there were in the year in which he preached not twice, besides the duties performed in his own house, or in his attendance on those noble persons to whom successively he was chaplain &c.

So that if he had not been helped by a more than officious memory, which devoured all the books he read, and digested them to easy nutriment, that supplied all the parts and the whole body of his learning, for his service and furtherance of his labours; it had been impossible but that the duties he performed as a divine must have hindered and jostled out those his happy productions as a most complete historian; which study, being tied to the series and catenation of time and truth, could ill brook or break through those avocations, though no doubt it thrived the better under the kindly influence of his devotion. 7

It will make it also the less wonder why a man of so great merit and such conspicuous worth should never arrive to any eminent honour and dignity or church revenue, save that of a prebend in Salisbury, being also of competent age to become the gravity of such preferments: for he could not afford to seek great matters for himself,

¶ Of this he gives an apt but homely illustration in his Appeal, p. 287. Speaking of his reluctance to be drawn into controversy, among other motives, he adds, this was one: "I lacked leisure so-lemly to confute his Animad-versions, having at this time so novel and various employment; the cow was well stocked with milk, thus praised by the poet:

"*Bis venit ad mulctrum, binos alit ubere
fatus.*"

"She suckles two, yet doth not fail,
Twice a day to come to the pail."

"But I justly feared who twice a
Lord's day do come to the pul-
pit, (God knows my heart, I
speak it not to ostentation,) that
I could not suckle my parish
and the press, without starving
or short-feeding of one: whereas
the Animadverter, in his retired
life, gives no other milk than fol-
lowing his own private studies."

who designed his all for the public good and the concerns of his precious soul. Questionless he could not have wanted friends to his advancement, if he would have pursued such ends, who would have been as great furtherers of himself out of a particular affection (which is always ambitious of laying such obligations upon virtue) to his person, as they had assisted him in his works and labours.

He was reward and recompense enough to himself; and for his fame and glory certainly he computed it the best way; it is the jewel that graces the ring, not so the contrary. High places are levelled in death, and crumble into dust, leaving no impression of those that possessed them, and are only retrievable to posterity by some excellent portraits of their nobler parts; wherein it will on all hands be confessed the doctor hath absolutely drawn himself beyond the excellentest counterfeit of art, and which shall outlive all addition of monument, and outflourish the pomp of the lastingest sepulchral glory.

But had the worthy doctor but some longer while survived, to the fruition of that quiet and settlement of the church, of which by God's goodness and favour we have so full a prospect, and that the crowd of suitors for ecclesiastical promotions had left thronging and importuning their great friends, to the stifling and smothering of modest merit, it may be presumed the royal bounty would favourably have reflected on and respected that worth of the doctor, (which was so little set by and regarded of himself in his contented obscurity,) by a convenient placing and raising of that light to some higher orb, from whence he should have dilated and dispensed his salutiferous rays and influences.

Some little time after his death his course would have come to have preached before his majesty, for which the doctor made preparations; and that most probably would have proved a fit opportunity of notifying himself to the king, whose most judicious and exact observation the remarks of the doctor's learned preaching would have happily suited. This honour was designed him before by a right noble lord, in whose retinue as chaplain he went over to the

Hague, at the reduction of his majesty into these his kingdoms. But the haste and dispatch which that great affair required in the necessity of the king's presence here, afforded him not the effect of that honourable intendment. But what he was disappointed of here is fully attained by his happy appearance before the King of kings, to praise and magnify him, and to sing hallelujahs for ever.

So adieu to that glory of the doctor, which is incommunicable with the world; and *ave* and all prosperity be to those his remains, which he hath to the general advantage of learning and piety most liberally imparted!

Too customary were it to recite the several kinds and sorts of honourable epithets which his equal readers have fixed on him; but this under favour may be assigned peculiarly to him, that no man performed any thing of such difficulty as his undertakings with that delight and profit, which were as the gemelli and twins of his hard labour, and superfetations of wit, not distinguishable but by the thread of his own art, which clued men into their several and distinct apartments.

And so impertinent it will be to engage further in a particular account of his books, whose sure and perpetual duration needs not the minutes of this biography, especially that his ultimate piece, and partly posthumous, (his often mentioned book, the *Worthies General of England*;) whose design was drawn by eternity; commencing from their (before) unknown originals, and leading into an ocean of new discoveries. And may some happy as hardy pen attempt the continuation!

[*The following List of FULLER'S WORKS is with some alterations taken from Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual.*]

Those marked with an asterisk are not enumerated in the *Life*.

1. David's hainous Sinne, heartie Repentance, heavie Punishment. *London*, 1631, 18mo.

* 2. The Life of Dean Colet, prefixed to his Dayly Devotions. 1635, 12mo.

3. The Historie of the Holy Warre. *Camb.* 1639, fol.

[This work passed through various editions in the years 1640, 1642, 1647, 1651, 1652.]

4. The Holy and Profane State. *Camb.* 1642, fol.

[This work passed through various editions, and is generally found with the foregoing, &c. 1647, 1648, 1651, 1652, 1658, 1663.]

5. Joseph's party-coloured Coat; a comment on part of 1 Corinth. II. together with eight Sermons. *Lond.* 1640, 1648, 4to.

6. A fast Sermon preached on Innocents' Day. *Matt. v. 9. Lond.* 1642, 4to.; and 1654, 12mo.

7. A Sermon of Reformation, preached at the Church of the Savoy, July 27, 1643. *Lond.* 1643, 4to.

[Reprinted in the answer to Saltmarsh.]

8. Truth Maintained; or Positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy, asserted for Sacred and Safe. *Oxf.* 1643, 4to.

[An answer to Saltmarsh.]

9. A Sermon preached at S. Peter's Westminster, on the 27th of March, being the day of His Majesty's inauguration. 2 Sam. v. 19, 20. *Lond.* 1643, 4to.; and 1654, 12mo.

10. Good Thoughts in Bad Times. *Exeter*, 1645, 16mo.; *Lond.* 1646. Since, at various times in London.

11. Good Thoughts in Worse Times. *Lond.* 1640, 16mo.; and 1647, 12mo.

12. Good Thoughts in Bad Times, together with Good Thoughts in Worse Times. *Lond.* 1649, 1652, 1669, 1680. Since lately at London.
13. Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience. *Lond.* 1646, 1649, 12mo.; 1810, 18mo.
- * 14. Fear of losing the Old Light; a Sermon preached at Exeter. *Lond.* 1646, 4to.
15. Andronicus; or the Unfortunate Politician. *Lond.* 1646, 12mo.; and 1649.
- * 16. The Just Man's Funeral; a Sermon preached at Chelsea, on Eccles. vii. 15. *Lond.* 1649, 4to.
17. The Pisgah Sight of Palestine. *Lond.* 1650, fol.; 1652, 1662.
18. Abel Redivivus. *Lond.* 1651, 4to.; and 1652.
19. Comment on Christ's Temptation, Matt. iv. 1—11. 1652, 8vo.
20. The Infant's Advocate. *Lond.* 1653, 8vo.
- * 21. Perfection and Peace; a Sermon. *Lond.* 1653, 8vo.
22. A Comment on Ruth; together with two Sermons; the one teaching to Live Well, the other to Die Well. *Lond.* 1654, 8vo.
23. Ornitho-logie; or the Speech of Birds; also the Speech of Flowers; partly moral, partly mystical. *Lond.* 1663, 12mo.; and both separately in 1655.
- * 24. Ephemeris Parliamentaria; or a faithful Register of the Transactions in Parliament, 1627—28. *Lond.* 1654, fol.
25. A Triple Reconciler. *Lond.* 1654, 8vo.
26. The Church History. *Lond.* 1655—6, fol. (With this Fuller published
The History of the University of Cambridge; and
The History of Waltham Abbey.
27. Life out of Death; a Sermon preached at Chelsea. *Lond.* 1655, 8vo.
28. A Collection of Sermons: 1. The best Employment. 2. A Gift for God alone. 3. The true Penitent. 4. The best Act of Oblivion; together with Notes upon Jonah. *Lond.* 1656, 8vo.

29. A Sermon [on Acts xiii. 36.] at the Funeral of G. Heycock. *Lond.* 1657. 4to.

[In the MS. Part of the B. M. Catalogue.]

29. The best Name on Earth; with other Sermons. *Lond.* 1657, 1659, 8vo.

30. Mixed Contemplations in Better Times. *Lond.* 1660, 8vo.

31. The Appeal of Injured Innocence. *Lond.* 1659, fol.

32. History of the Worthies of England. *Lond.* 1662, fol.

* 33. Several Sermons in Featley's House of Mourning.

* 34. The Life of Henry Smith, prefixed to his Sermons; a Preface to Holdsworth's Valley of Vision; and to Spencer's Things New and Old; a novel entitled Triana, published in 1662; but upon what authority this latter work is attributed to Fuller I have not been able to discover.

At the end of his Life, in the List of his Works, are mentioned the following:

1. A Sermon on Assurance.

2. A Latin treatise, De Ecclesia.

THE
CHURCH-HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN;

From the Birth of
JESUS CHRIST,

Untill the YEAR

M. DC. XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED
By *THOMAS FVLLER.*

L O N D O N,
Printed for Iohn WILLIAMS at the signe of the Crown
in S^t. *Paul's* Church-yard, Anno 1655.

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TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS
ESME STUART,
DUKE OF RICHMOND.*

I HAVE sometimes solitarily pleased myself with the perusing and comparing of two places of scripture: Acts xxii. 22. the wicked Jews said of St. Paul, *Away with such a fellow from*

* [Son of James Stewart, third duke of Richmond; one too well known, to require a detailed notice here. In the offers of accommodation set on foot in the year 1642, he was one of those who were excepted against by the parliament, for no other reason, than for "his duty and reverence for the king and the church." See Clarendon, III. 239. I. 215.

"As he had received great bounties from the king," says the same historian, "so he sacrificed all he had to his service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his majesty, at one time, twenty

thousand pounds together; and as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service, in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived with unspotted fidelity some years after the murder of his master, and was suffered to put him into his grave; and died without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the crown." Ib. 540.

Fuller's wishes, unfortunately, respecting the young duke, the subject of this Dedication, were not realized. He died without issue, in 1660; five years after his father.]

the earth ; for it is not fit that he should live : Hebrews xi. 38, St. Paul said of the godly Jews, *Of whom the world was not worthy.* Here I perceive heaven and hell, mercy and malice, God's spirit and man's spite, resolved on the question, that it is not fit that good men should live long on earth.

However, though the building be the same, yet the bottom is different ; the same conclusion being inferred from opposite, yea contrary premises. Wicked men think this world too good, God knows it too bad for his servants to live in. Henceforward I shall not wonder that good men die so soon, but that they live so long ; seeing wicked men desire their room here on earth, and God their company in heaven. No wonder then, if your good Father was so soon translated to happiness, and his Grace advanced into glory.

He was pleased to give me a text some weeks before his death, of the words of our Saviour to the probationer convert : * *Thou art not far from the kingdom of God*, that is, as the words there import, from the state of salvation. But before my sermon could be, his life was finished, and

* Mark xii. 34.

he, in the real acception thereof, possessed of heaven and happiness.

Thus was I disappointed (O that this were the greatest loss by the death of so worthy person!) of a patron, to whom I intended the dedication of this first part of my History.

I after was entered on a resolution to dedicate it to his memory; presuming to defend the innocence and harmlessness of such a dedication, by precedents of unquestioned antiquity. But I intended also to surround the pages of the dedication with black, not improper, as to his relation, so expressive of the present sad condition of our distracted Church.

But seasonably remembering how the altar ED (only erected for commemoration,) ^bwas misinterpreted by the other tribes for superstition; I conceived it best to cut off all occasions of cavil from captious persons, and dedicate it to you his son and heir.

Let not your Grace be offended, that I make you a patron at the second hand: for though I confess you are my refuge, in relation to your

^b Joshua xxii. 11.

deceased Father; you are my choice, in reference to the surviving nobility. God sanctify your tender years with true grace, that in time you may be a comfort to your Mother, credit to your kindred, and honour to your nation.

Your Grace's most bounden

Orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

TO
THE READER.

AN ingenious gentleman some months since in jest-earnest, advised me to make haste with my History of the Church of England, for fear (said he) lest the Church of England be ended before the History thereof.

This History is now, though late, (all church-work is slow,) brought with much difficulty to an end.

And blessed be God, the Church of England is still (and long may it be) in being, though disturbed, distempered, distracted; God help and heal her most sad condition.

The three first books of this volume were for the main written in the reign of the late king, as appeareth by the passages then proper for the

government. The other nine books we made since monarchy was turned into a state.

May God alone have the glory, and the ingenuous Reader the benefit of my endeavours; which is the hearty desire of

Thy Servant in Jesus Christ,

THOMAS FULLER.

From my Chamber in
Sion College.

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

CENTURY I^a.



THAT we may the more freely and fully A. D. 37.
pay the tribute of our thanks to God's The doleful
goodness, for the gospel which we now case of the
enjoy, let us recount the sad condition pagan
of the Britons our predecessors, before Britons.

the Christian faith was preached unto them: *At that time they were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world^b.* They were foul idolaters, who, from misapplying that undeniable truth of God's being in every thing, made every thing to be their god, trees, rivers, hills, and mountains. They worshipped devils, whose pictures remained in the days of Gildas^c,

[^a For this account of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, Fuller is greatly indebted to Usher's celebrated work, "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*." The first edition of this book was published in Dublin, 1639, in 4to, and the second in London, 1687, fol. with additions, and a slight variation in the title page. I have retained the

pagings of both editions. Stillingfleet's work on the same subject, "*The Antiquities of the British Churches*," displays considerable learning, and is superior to Usher's in critical skill; rejecting at once the fabulous legends of Galfridus Arthurus, the Glastonbury chronicle, and writers of a similar stamp.]

[^b Eph. ii. 12.]

^c Hist. c. ii. p. 2. ed. Gale.

FULLER, VOL. I.

B

A. D. 37. within and without the decayed walls of their cities, drawn with deformed faces, (no doubt, done to the life, according to their terrible apparitions,) so that such ugly shapes did not woo, but fright people into adoration of them. Wherefore, if any find in Tully that the Britons in his time had no pictures, understand him, they were not artists in that mystery, (like the Greeks and Romans,) they had not pieces of proportion, being rather daubers than drawers, stainers than painters, though called *picti* from their self-discoloration.

Their principal idols.

2. Three paramount idols they worshipped above all the rest, and ascribed divine honour unto them :

1. Apollo, by them styled Belinus the Great.
2. Andraste, or Andate^d, the goddess of victory.
3. Diana, goddess of the game.

This last was most especially revered, Britain being then all a forest, where hunting was not the recreation but the calling, and venison, not the dainties but the diet of common people. There is a place near St. Paul's in London, called in old records *Diana's Chamber*^e, where, in the days of King Ed-

^d Dion. Cassius, lxii. 7.

[^e Fuller in his "Appeal, &c." p. 52, adds the following observation on this passage: "Let me add this passage from the pen of as great an antiquary, as any Wales now doth enjoy.

"As for the name of Diana, I do conceive that she was called Dain in our language, and I have many histories of our nation, that seem to make no question of it. To this day in Wales, *fat marketable*

cattle are called, *Guarthege Deinol*; that is to say, *Diana's cattle*, or, *cattle fit to be sacrificed*, &c. And I am more than confident, there is no man living can put any other interpretation upon this word *Deinol*. It must be an adjective of Dain; and Dain hath no other signification in our language than the name of Diana." This antiquary was the celebrated H. Lhuid.]

ward the First^f, thousands of the heads of oxen were A. D. 37. digged up, whereat the ignorant wondered, whilst the learned well understood them to be the proper sacrifices to Diana, whose great temple was built thereabout. This rendereth their conceit not altogether unlikely, who will have London so called from *Llan-Dian*^g, which signifieth in British "the temple of Diana." And surely conjectures, if mannerly observing their distance, and not impudently intruding themselves for certainties, deserve, if not to be received, to be considered. Besides these specified, they had other *portenta diabolica, pene numero Egyptiaca vincentia*^h: as indeed they who erroneously conceive one God too little, will find two too

^f Camden's *Britann.* in *Midlesex*, p. 306, ed. 1607.

[^g The author of this "conceit" is the celebrated Selden. It was cavilled at by Dr. Heylyn, who imagines, that if this supposition were correct, "the Welch being so tenacious of their ancient language would have had some remembrance of it, who to this day call it Llan-dayn, and not Llan-dian," &c. *Examen Hist.* p. 3. The passage from Selden is quoted by Fuller in reply: "This learned antiquary," he says, "after he had alleged some verses out of Robert of Glóster, deriving the name of London, quasi Lud's town, from Lud, proceedeth as followeth, in his notes on the eighth song in *Polyolbion*, p. 126. 'Judicious reformers of fabulous report, I know, have more serious derivations of the name; and seeing conjecture is free, I could imagine it

" might be called at first Llan-dien, i. e. 'the Temple of Diana,' as Lhan-Dewi, Lhan-stephan, Lhan-padern vaur, Lhan-vair, i. e. 'S. Dewys, S. Stephans, S. Patern the Great, S. Mary, (and Verulam is by H. Lhuid derived from Ver-Lhan, i. e. 'the church upon the river Ver') with divers more such places in Wales; and so afterwards by strangers turned into Londinum, and the like. For that Diana and her brother Apollo, under the name of Belin, were two great deities amongst the Britons." "Ap-peal," &c. p. 53. For further remarks upon this subject, see *Stow's Survey*, (by Strype,) vol. i. p. 5. Carte has dedicated many pages in the commencement of his history to this subject, and has collected from ancient authors all that can serve to illustrate it.]

^h Gildas, *ib.*

A. D. 37. many, and yet millions not enough. As for those learned pens, which report that the Druids did instruct the ancient Britons in the knowledge and worship of one only Godⁱ; may their mistake herein be as freely forgiven them, as I hope and desire that the charitable reader, will with his pardon meet those involuntary errors, which in this work by me shall be committed.

3. Two sorts of people were most honoured amongst the Britons :

1. Druids, who were their { philosophers,
divines,
lawyers.
2. Bards, who were their { prophets,
poets,
historians.

The office
and employ-
ment of the
Druids.

The former were so called from *δρῦς*, signifying generally a *tree*, and properly an *oak*, under which they used to perform their rites and ceremonies. An idolatry whereof the Jews themselves had been guilty, for which the prophet threateneth them; *They shall be ashamed of the oaks which they have desired*^j. But the signal oak which the Druids made choice of was such a one on which mistletoe^k did grow; by which privy token they conceived God marked it out as of sovereign virtue for his service. Under this tree, on the sixth day of the moon, (whereon they began their year,) they invoked their idols, and offered two white bulls filleted in the horns, with many other ceremonies. These pagan priests never wrote any thing, so to procure the greater

ⁱ *Druides unum esse Deum semper inculcarunt.* Camden's Britan. p. 47. ed. 1607. Godwin,

De Præs. p. 16. ed. Camb. 1743.

^j *Isai.* i. 29.

^k *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* xvi. 44.

eneration to their mysteries; men being bound to A. D. 37. believe that it was some great treasure which was locked up in such great secrecy¹.

4. The bards^m were next the Druids in regard, and played excellently to their songs on their harps; whereby they had great operation on the vulgar, surprising them into civility unawares, they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetened with music. These also, to preserve their ancestors from corruption, embalmed their memories in rhyming verses, which looked both backward in their relations, and forward in their predictions: so that their confidence meeting with the credulity of others, advanced their wild conjectures to the reputation of prophecies. The immortality of the soul they did not flatly deny, but falsely believe, disguised under the opinion of transanimation, conceiving that dying men's souls afterwards passed into other bodies, either preferred to better, or condemned to worse, according to their former good or ill behaviour. This made them condemn death, and always maintain erected resolutions, counting a valiant death the best of bargains, wherein

The powerful practices of the bards on the people.

[¹ Another etymology of the word is given by Carte in his *Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. 28. with a learned dissertation upon the character and discipline of the Druids. It is not improbable that they believed in *one supreme* God, but corrupted his worship by adoration paid to subordinate deities; to whom, after the fashion of other nations, they attributed a partial and a local influence. The reason of their committing their mysteries to verse and not to writing, was perhaps not so

much their ignorance of letters and want of materials, as the great facility which verse afforded the memory; and such is the mode in which the memorials of the early religious rites of all pagan nations were preserved. See also Heylyn's remarks in the "Appeal," &c. p. 54.]

[^m The Bards were not a class distinct from the Druids; but one of their order, to whom the duties mentioned by our author were assigned. See Carte, i. 71.]

A.D. 37. they did not lose, but lay out their lives to advantage. Generally they were great magicians, inso-much that Pliny saithⁿ, that the very Persians, in some sort, might seem to have learnt their magic from the Britons.

The first
preaching
of the gos-
pel in
Britain.

5. So pitiful for the present, and more fearful for the future, was the condition of the heathen Britons, when it pleased God *with a strong hand and stretched out arm*, to reach the gospel unto them *who were afar off*, both in local and theological distance. This was performed in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, some thirty-seven years after Christ's birth, as Poly-dor Virgil collecteth out of the testimony of Gildas^o.

Causes
which
hastened
the conver-
sion of
Britain, be-
fore other
kingdoms
which lay
nearer to
Palestine.

6. If it seem incredible to any, that this island, furthest from the sun, should see light with the first, whilst many countries on the continent interposed, (nearer in situation to Judæa, the fountain of the gospel,) sat as yet, and many years after, *in darkness and in the shadow of death*; let us consider, first, that Britain being a by-corner, out of the road of the world, seemed the safest sanctuary from persecution, which might invite preachers to come the sooner into it. Secondly, it facilitated the entrance of the gospel hither, that lately the Roman conquest had in part civilized the south of this island, by transporting of colonies thither, and erecting of cities there^p; so that, by the intercourse of traffick and commerce with other countries, Christianity had the more speedy and convenient waftage over. Whereas on the other side, this set the conversion of Germany so backward, because the inland parts thereof enter-

ⁿ Nat. Hist. xxx. 1.

c. vi. p. 3.

^o 'Tempore (ut scimus) sum-
mo Tiberii Cæsaris. Gildas,

p [See the "Appeal," &c.
p. 55.]

tained no trading with others; and (out of defiance A. D. 37. to the Romans) hugged their own barbarism, made lovely with liberty, bolting out all civility from themselves, as jealous that it would usher in subjection. Lastly and chiefly, God in a more peculiar manner did always favour the islands, as under his immediate protection. For as he daily walls them with his Providence, against the scaling of the swelling surges, and constant battery of the tide; so he made a particular promise of his gospel unto them by the mouth of his prophet, *I will send those that escape of them to the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame*⁹. To shew that *neither height nor depth* (no not of the ocean itself) *is able to separate any from the love of God*. And for the same purpose Christ employed fishermen for the first preachers of the gospel, as who being acquainted with the water and mysteries of sailing, would with the more delight undertake long sea voyages into foreign countries.

7. But now, who it was that first brought over the gospel into Britain is very uncertain. The Con-^{St. Peter}versioner (understand Parsons the Jesuit) mainly ^{falsely re-}ported to stickleth for the apostle Peter to have first preach-^{have}ed the gospel here^{preached in}. Yea, when protestants object ^{Britain.} against St. Peter's being at Rome, because St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, omitteth to name or

⁹ Isai. lxvi. 19. [De Lyra in his commentary upon Ps. xcvi. 1. applies the multitude of the isles to Great Britain and Ireland; and Usher seems to approve of this interpretation. See Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 2. The Vulgate is more expressive than our version: "Mittam ex eis ad
" gentes in Oceano insulasque
" remotissimas quæ non audi-
" verant famam meam neque
" viderant gloriam meam," &c. The latter words seem to support De Lyra's interpretation.]
 ^r Parsons' Three Conversions, i. 19.

A. D. 37. salute him, the Jesuit handsomely answers, that Peter was then probably from home, employed in preaching in Britain and other places. His arguments to prove it are not so strong but that they easily accept of answers, as followeth :

1. *Arg.* St. Peter preached in Britain, because Gildas^a speaking against his dissolute countrymen, taxeth them for usurping the seat of Peter with their unclean feet.

Answ. Understand him, that they had abused the profession of the ministry : for it follows, “ they have “ sitten in the pestilent chair of Judas the traitor.” Whence it appears both are meant mystically and metaphorically, parallel to the expressions of the apostle Jude, v. 11. *They have gone in the way of Cain, &c.*

2. *Arg.* Simeon Metaphrastes saith so^t, that he stayed some days in Britain, where having preached the word, established churches, ordained bishops,

^a In Epist. de Excid. Brit. p. 23. ed. Gale. [See the “Appeal,” &c. p. 57.]

^t Comment. de Petro et Paulo ad diem 29 Junii. [chap. iii. p. 416. ed. Bolland.]

A translation of this treatise appears to have been first published by Surius, “ De prob. “ Sanctorum Historiis,” Vol. III. 859. = 272. ad diem 29 Junii, who attributes it to Simeon Metaphrastes. But the Bollandists, who have printed the original Greek, following Leo Allatius, have rightly rejected the name of Simeon ; for, as Allatius observes, “ viri de “ antiquitate ecclesiastica bene “ meriti vitas sanctorum quæ

“ auctorem sibi præfixum non “ præferunt, omnes non sine “ erroris atque inscitie nota “ Simeoni vindicarunt, quæ “ vere Simeonis non sunt.” The remark of the Bollandists upon this passage supports, if such support be indeed necessary, the criticism of Fuller. “ Quia vero auctor dicti Com- “ mentarii præfatur se ex va- “ riis collegisse, quæ de SS. Pe- “ tro et Paulo dicit, atque in- “ terim diversis temporibus acta “ parum congrue in unum idem “ que tempus compingit, ideo “ et propter alia σφάλματα ab “ eodem commissa arbitramur “ potius alium fuisse a Meta- “ phraste.” Junii t. V. 400. E.]

priests, and deacons, in the twelfth year of Nero he A. D. 37. returned to Rome.

Answ. Metaphrastes is an author of no credit, as Baronius himself doth confess^u.

3. *Arg.* Innocent the First reporteth, that the first churches in Italy, France, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the interjacent islands, were founded by St. Peter^x.

Answ. Make the map an umpire, and the epithet *interjacent* will not reach Britain, intending only the islands in the midland sea.

4. *Arg.* Gulielmus Eysingrenius saith so^y.

Answ. Though he hath a long name he is but a late author, setting forth his book anno 1566^z. Besides, he builds on the authority of Metaphrastes, and so both fall together.

5. *Arg.* St. Peter himself in a vision, in the days of king Edward the Confessor, reported that he had preached the word in Britain.

Answ. To this vision pretended of Peter, we oppose the certain words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. i. 4. *Neither give heed to fables.*

We have stayed the longer in confuting these

^u In aliis multis ibi a se positus errare eum certum est. *Ecc. Annal. in an. 44. §. 54.* [Vol. i. p. 306. ed. Mansi. See a more favourable judgment of Metaphrastes in Weismann's *Hist. Eccl. N. T. i. 837.* Also Heylyn's *Examen Hist. p. 8.*]

^x Epistola 1. ad Decentium. [in *Concil. ii. 1245.* ed. Labbe et Coss. 1671.

The words of Innocent are these: "Quis enim nesciat
" aut non advertat id quod
" a principe apostolorum Petro
" Romanæ ecclesiæ traditum
" est, ac nunc usque custodi-

tur, ab omnibus debere servari, nec superinduci aut introduci aliquid, quod aut auctoritatem non habeat, aut aliunde accipere videatur exemplum? præsertim cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam, insulasque interjacentes, nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes?"

[7 fol. ccxxii. b.]

^z Mason de Minist. Ang. ii. 2. p. 65. ed. 1625.

A. D. 37. arguments, because from Peter's preaching here, Parsons would infer an obligation of this island to the see of Rome, which how strongly he hath proved let the reader judge. He that will give a cap, and make a leg in thanks for a favour he never received, deserveth rather to be blamed for want of wit, than to be praised for store of manners. None therefore can justly tax us of ingratitude, if we be loath to confess an engagement to Rome more than is due. The rather because Rome is of so tyrannical a disposition, that making herself the mother-church, she expects of her daughters not only dutifulness, but servility; and (not content to have them ask her blessing, but also do her drudgery) endeavoureth to make slaves of all her children.

8. Passing by Peter, proceed we to the rest of the apostles, whom several authors allege the first planters of religion in this island.

A. D. 41.
St. James,

1. St. James^a son to Zebedee, and brother to

^a Isidorus Hispal. de patribus utriusque Testament. c. 72. [p. 365. ed. Du Breul, 1617.]

Flavius Lucius Dexter in Chronico ad annum 41. [p. 77. ed. 1627.]

St. Isidore states nothing as to the preaching of St. James in Britain. His words are, "Jacobus filius Zebedæi frater Johannis, quartus in ordine XII., tribus quæ sunt in dispersione gentium [scripsit], atque Hispaniæ et occidentaliū locorum populis evangelium prædicavit et in occasu mundi lucem prædicationis infudit." It is even doubtful whether these are the words of Isidore himself. See

Du Breul, p. 610. F. For this treatise of Isidore is almost entirely extracted from a Martyrology of St. Jerom, according to Usher. *ibid.* 8.]

Dexter's Chronicle is attributed by Placcius to F. Bivarius its editor and commentator. For a long time this chronicle was supposed to have been lost; when suddenly, at the close of the 16th century, a report was circulated by a Spanish Jesuit, Hieron. Roman de Higuera, that he had discovered the MS. But the book is of no credit. Dionysius Petavius, in his epistle to Rosweide, (Ep. ii. 26.) styles it *the clumsy forgery of some Spanish rogue*, "Homi-

John. But if we consult with the scripture, we shall find that the sword of Herod put an end to all his travels before the apostles their general departure from Jerusalem^b. Indeed this James is notoriously reported (how truly, let them seek who are concerned) to have been in Spain; and it is probable some, mistaking Hibernia for Hiberia, and then confounding Hibernia, a British island, with our Britain, (as one error is very procreative of another,) gave the beginning to James his preaching here.

2. St. Paul is by others shipped over into our island, amongst whom, thus sings Venantius Fortunatus^c:

Transit et oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thule.

But less credit is to be given to Britannus, because it goeth in company with *ultima Thule*, which being the noted expression of poets for the utmost bound of the then known world, seems to savour more of poetical hyperbole than historical truth, as a phrase at random only to express far foreign countries.

3. Simon the Canaanite, surnamed Zelotes; and well did he brook his name, the fervency of whose zeal carried him into so far and cold a country to propagate the gospel. Dorotheus makes him to be both martyred and buried in Britain^d. But this,

“nis imperitissimi *ψευδεπίγραφον*, ab Hispano aliquo “nebulone confictum;” and Usher styles the author “ille qui Flavii Lucii Dextri lar-vam induit.” Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 3. See also Fabricius, Bib. Med. Latinit. IV. p. 25.]

[^b See Usher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 3.]

^c Lib. 3. de vita S. Martini.

[Bib. Max. PP. Vol. x. p. 607. H. ed. 1677. These lines are somewhat different in Usher. Ib. p. 4.]

[^d In which Dorotheus is supported by Nicephorus, Hist. Eccl. ii. 40. and by some of the Greek Mænologia for the 10th of May. See Usher, ib. 4. The treatise of Dorotheus referred to in the text is the “Synopsis

A. D. 47. saith Baronius, receiveth no countenance from any ancient writers^e. What then, I pray, was Dorotheus himself, being bishop of Tyre under Diocletian and Constantine the Great? If the cardinal count him young, what grave seniors will he call ancient?

A. D. 56. 4. Aristobulus, though no apostle, yet an apostle's mate^f, counted one of the seventy disciples, is by Grecian writers made bishop of Britain^g. Strange that foreign authors should see more in our island than our homebred historians, wholly silent thereof! and it much weakeneth their testimony, because they give evidence of things done at such distance from them. But how easy is it for a writer with one word of his pen, to send an apostle many miles by land and leagues by sea, into a country wherein otherwise he never set his footing!

The result of all is this: churches are generally ambitious to entitle themselves to apostles for their founders, conceiving they should otherwise be esteemed but as of the second form, and younger house, if they received the faith from any inferior preacher. Wherefore as the heathen in searching after the original of their nations never leave soaring till they touch the clouds and fetch their pedigree from some god, so Christians think it nothing worth, except they relate the first planting of religion in their country to some apostle. Whereas indeed it

"de vita Prophetarum, Apostolorum," &c. and is generally supposed to be supposititious. The arguments respecting its genuineness have been briefly stated by Oudin de Scrip. Eccl. l. 1378. See also Cave's Hist. Litt. I. p. 163. Dorotheus flourished in 525.

Aristobulus was brother of Barnabas, according to the Menæa. See also the fragment of Heleca quoted by Usher. ib. 5.]

^e Annal. Eccles. in anno 44-§. 38. [Vol. i. p. 301. ed. Mansi.]

^f Rom. xvi. 2.

^g Menæa Græcorum ad diem 15 Martii.

matters not, if the doctrine be the same, whether A. D. 56.
the apostles preached it by themselves, or by their
successors. We see little certainty can be extracted
who first brought the gospel hither; it is so long
since, the British church hath forgotten her own
infancy, who were her first godfathers. We see the
light of the word shined here, but see not who
kindled it. I will not say, as God, to prevent idolatry,
caused the body of Moses to be concealed^h; so, to cut
off from posterity all occasion of superstition, he
suffered the memories of our primitive planters to
be buried in obscurity.

9. Now amongst the converts of the natives of this A. D. 63.
island in this age to Christianity, Claudia (surnamed Claudia
(notwith-
standing
Parsons'
Ruffina) is reputed a principal, wife to Pudens, a
Roman senatorⁱ. And because all this is too high a exceptions)
might be a
British
Christian.
step for our belief to climb at once, the ascent will
be more easy thus divided into stairs and half paces.

First, That Claudia was a Britain born, Martial
affirms it in his Epigram^j:

Claudia cæruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latæ pectora plebis habet?

Secondly, That this Claudia was wife to Pudens,
the same poet averreth^k:

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti.
Macte esto tædis, o Hymenæe, tuis.

Thirdly, That there was a Pudens and Claudia
living at Rome, both Christians, we have it
from a more infallible pen of St. Paul him-
self,—*Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and
Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren*^l.

^h Deut. xxxiv. 6.

ⁱ See Usher, Brit. Ecel. Ant.

^j Lib. xi. Epig. 54.

^k Lib. iv. Epig. 13.

^l 2 Tim. iv. 21.

A. D. 63. Lastly, That this Claudia mentioned by St. Paul, then living at Rome, was the same Claudia, a Britain born, mentioned by Martial, is the opinion and probable conjecture of many modern writers.

But father Parsons will not admit hereof, because willingly he would not allow any sprinkling of Christianity in this island but what was rained from Rome, when Eleutherius sent to christian king Lucius; that so our engagement to the Romish church might be the more visible and conspicuous. This of Claudia Ruffina is “huddled up,” saith he, “by our later heretical writers,” (though some as catholic as himself in his own sense do entertain it¹;) “and hereby we see that heretics are but slight provers, and very deceitful in all matters, as well historical as doctrinal^m.”

Parsons' objection to the contrary answered.

10. But be it known to him and others, that our history is founded on the best human books we can get, but our doctrine is grounded on what is best in itself, the divine scriptures. The matter in hand is so slight a controversy, that it cannot bear a demonstration on either side; it will suffice, if by answering his reasons to the contrary, we clear it from all impossibility and improbability; that it is not huddled, but built up by plummet and line with proportion to time and place.

1. *Arg.* There is a general silence of all antiquity in this matter.

Answ. Negative arguments from human writers in such historical differences are of small validity.

¹ Pitseus is zealous for it, ^m Parsons, Three Convers. i. de Script. Brit. p. 72. ed. 1619. p. 18.

2. *Arg.* Martial, an heathen, would hardly so much A. D. 63. commend Claudia if she had been a Christian.

Answ. A wanton poet, in his chaste intervals, might praise that goodness in another which he would not practise in himself.

3. *Arg.* Claudia, spoken of by St. Paul, was in the time of Nero, and could not be known to Martial, who lived sixty years after, in the reign of Trajan.

Answ. Though Martial died a very old man in Trajan's days, yet he flourished under Nero, very familiar with his friend and fellow-poet Silius Italicus^a, in whose consulship Nero died.

4. *Arg.* That same Claudia (reported also the first hostess which entertained Peter and Paul) must be presumed ancient in Martial's remembrance, and therefore unfit to be praised for her beauty.

Answ. Even in the autumn of her age, when she had enriched her husband with three children, her vigorous beauty preserved by temperance might entitle her to the commendation of matron-like comeliness.

5. *Arg.* The children assigned in the Roman calendar to Claudia the Christian will not well agree to this British Claudia.

Answ. Little certainty can be extracted, and therefore nothing enforced to purpose, from the number and names of her children, such is the difference of several writers concerning them^o.

The issue of all is this. Claudia's story, as a British Christian, stands unremoved for any force of these objections, though one need not be much en-

^a Martial. lib. vii. Ep. 62. ^o Usher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 3.

A. D. 63. gaged herein : for whosoever is more than lukewarm is too hot in a case of so small consequence. Yet we will not willingly leave an hoof of the British honour behind which may be brought on ; the rather to save the longing of such who delight on rath-ripe fruits ; and antiquaries much please themselves to behold the probabilities of such early converts of our island. But now to return again to the prime planters of religion in Britain. As for all those formerly reckoned up, there is in authors but a tinkling mention of them ; and the sound of their preaching low and little in comparison of those loud peals which are rung of Joseph of Arimathea his coming hither. Let the reader with patience take the sum thereof, extracted out of several authors.

*The coming
of Joseph of
Arimathea
into Britain.*

11. ^pThe Jews, bearing an especial spite to Philip, (whether the apostle or deacon uncertain,) Joseph of Arimathea, Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and Martha his sisters, with Marcella their servant, banished them out of Judæa, and put them into a vessel without sails and oars, with intent to drown them. Yet they, being tossed with tempests on the midland sea, at last safe landed at Marseilles in France. A relation as ill accoutred with tacklings as their ship, and which is unrigged in respect of time and other circumstances ; neither hath it the authority of any authentic writer for a pilot to steer it ; which notwithstanding hath had the happiness to arrive at the hearing of many, and belief of some few. Now whilst ^aPhilip continued preaching the gospel in France, he sent Joseph of Arimathea over

^p See Usher, *ib.*

not in this ship, but was in

^a Some hold Philip came France before.

into Britain, with Joseph his son, and ten other associates, to convert the natives of that island to Christianity^r. These coming into Britain, found such entertainment from Arviragus the king, that though he would not be dissuaded from his idolatry by their preaching, yet he allowed them twelve hides of ground (an hide is as much as, being well manured, will maintain a family; or, as others say, as much as one plough can handsomely manage) in a desolate island, full of fens and brambles, called the Ynis-Witrin, since, by translation, Glassenbury. Here they built a small church, and by direction from Gabriel the archangel, dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, encompassing it about with a churchyard^s; in which church afterwards Joseph was buried: and here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian religion.

12. Now, a little to examine this history, we shall find, first, that no writer of credit can be produced before the conquest, who mentioneth Joseph's coming hither; but since that time (to make recompense for former silence) it is resounded from every side. As for Bale^t his citations out of Melkinus Avalonius^u and Gildas Albanus, seeing the originals are not extant, they be as uncertain as what Baronius hath transcribed out of an English^x manuscript in

A.D. 63.

^r [This tradition of Joseph of Arimathea, the origin of which (according to Usher) cannot be traced higher than the conquest, has justly been rejected by Stillingfleet altogether. See Usher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Præf. ad Lectorem*, et p. 7.]

^s Malmsbury, MS. de Antiq.

Glaston. Ecclesiæ. [Since published by Gale in *Scriptor. XV. I. p. 292.*]

^t [*Script. Cent. I. §. 50 and 57.*]

^u [Avalonius, that is, of Glastonbury.]

^x Written in our age, as archbishop Usher observes, *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 15=8.*

A.D. 63. the Vatican. Yet because the Norman charters of Glassenbury refer to a succession of many ancient charters bestowed on that church by several Saxon kings, as the Saxon charters relate to British grants^y in intuition to Joseph's being there; we dare not wholly deny the substance of the story, though the leaven of monkery hath much swollen and puffed up the circumstance thereof. For the mentioning of an enclosed churchyard overthrows the foundation of the church, seeing churches in that time got no such suburbs about them, as any churchyards to attend them. The burying his body in the church was contrary to the practice of that age, yea, dead men's corpses were brought no nearer than the porch some hundreds of years after. The dedication of the place to the Virgin Mary sheweth the story of later date, calculated for the elevation of saint-worship. In a word, as this relation of Joseph is presented unto us, it hath a young man's brow, with an old man's beard; I mean, novel superstitions, disguised with pretended antiquity.

The plat-
form of the

13. In all this story of Joseph's living at Glassen-

^y [Fuller apparently alludes to the charter of St. Patrick, dated A.D. 430, and subsequently confirmed by an in-speximus, 6, 7, Edward II. This charter is doubtless a forgery, as Stillingfleet seems clearly to have proved. *Antiq. of the British Churches*, p. 17. Great suspicion is justly attached to all charters previous to the conquest, written in the Latin tongue. At that period, when the different religious houses were required to produce the title deeds of their

lands, and the warrants for their other privileges and exemptions, this system of forgery was carried to considerable length, as might have been suspected. In a nation despising the Saxons and their language, as did the Normans, charters written in that language, which they did not and could not understand, would command but little respect. This charter of St. Patrick is printed in *Gale's XV. Scrip.* p. 296.]

bury, there is no one passage reported therein beareth A.D. 6.
 better proportion to time and place, than the church most an-
 cient chu-
 in Chris-
 tendom.
 which he is said to erect, whose dimensions, mate-
 rials, and making, are thus presented unto us. It had
 in length sixty feet^a, and twenty-six in breadth,
 made of rods, wattled or interwoven^a; where at one
 view we may behold the simplicity of primitive de-
 votion, and the native fashion of British buildings in
 that age, and some hundred years after. For we find
 that ^bHoel Dha, king of Wales, made himself a
 palace of hurdle-work, called Twy Gwin, or the
 White House, because, for distinction sake, (to dif-
 ference it from, and advance it above other houses,)
 the rods whereof it was made were unbarked, having
 the rind stripped off, which was then counted gay
 and glorious, as white-limed houses exceed those
 which are only rough-cast. In this small oratory,
 Joseph, with his companions, watched, prayed, fasted,
 preached; having high meditations under a low roof,
 and large hearts betwixt narrow walls. If credit
 may be given to these authors, this church, without
 competition, was senior to all Christian churches in
 the world. Let not then stately modern churches
 disdain to stoop with their highest steeples, reve-
 rently doing homage to this poor structure, as their
 first platform and precedent. And let their chequered
 pavements no more disdain this oratory's plain floor,
 than her thatched covering doth envy their leaden
 roofs. And although now it is meet that church

^a Ancient plate of brass in the custody of sir Henry Spelman; *Concilia* I. 11. Wilkins, IV. 691-2.

^a Malmsbury ut prius, 293.

^b He was king of all Wales many years after, viz. 940. Camden's *Brit. in Carmarthen-shire*, p. 505.

- . A.D. 63. buildings, as well as private houses, partaking of the peace and prosperity of our age, should be both in their cost and cunning increased, (far be that pride and profaneness from any, to account nothing either too fair for man, or too foul for God,) yet it will not be amiss to desire, that our judgments may be so much the clearer in matters of truth, and our lives so much the purer in conversation, by how much our churches are more light, and our buildings more beautiful than they were.

A.D. 76.
Difference
about the
place of Jo-
seph's bu-
rial.

14. Some difference there is about the place of burial of Joseph of Arimathea; some assigning his grave in the church of Glassenbury, others in the south corner of the churchyard^c, and others elsewhere. This we may be assured of, that he who “re-signed his own tomb to our Saviour, wanted not a sepulchre for himself. And here we must not forget, how ^emore than a thousand years after, one John

^c [An additional presumption against the truth of this tradition; for although there were churches in the British cities from the introduction of Christianity, yet it was not customary to have churchyards within towns or cities, until Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury obtained a dispensation from the pope for that purpose in 758; till that time none were buried within the city walls in England. See Stillingfleet, *ib.* p. 29. Weever's *Fun. Monuments*, p. 8. According to the last mentioned writer, quoting the authorities of Hospinian and Durand, both Jews and Gentiles used to bury their dead without the gates of

towns and cities, “yet the true “Christians, and such as by “their lively faith were adopt- “ed the children of God, had “further mystery in this their “manner of interment; for by “the carriage and burial of “their dead corps without “their city walls, they did “publicly confirm and witness “that the parties deceased “were gone out of this world, “to be made free denizens of “another city, namely, hea- “ven.” This custom of bury- ing without cities remained till the time of Gregory the Great.]

^d Matt. xxvii. 60.

^e A. D. 1345, the 19th of Edward III.

Blome of London, pretending an injunction from A.D. 76. heaven to seek for the body of Joseph of Arimathea, obtained a license from king Edward the Third to dig at Glassenbury for the same, as by his^f patent doth appear. It seems his commission of inquiry never originally issued out of the court of heaven; for God never sends his servants on a sleeveless errand, but saith, *Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find.* Whereas this man sought, and did never find, for ought we can hear of his inquisition. And we may well believe, that had he found the corpse of Joseph, though fame might have held her peace, yet superstition would not have been silent; but long before this time she had roared it even into the ears of deaf men. And truly he might have digged at Glassenbury to the centre of the earth, and yet not met with what he sought for, if Joseph were buried ten miles off (as a Jesuit^g will have it) at Montacute, or in Hampden-hill. Hereafter there is hope, that the masons digging in the quarries thereof may light by chance on his corpse, which (if fond papists might prize it) would prove more beneficial to them than the best bed of free-stone they ever opened. The best is, be Joseph's body where it will, his soul is certainly happy in heaven.

15. Some ascribe to the sanctity of this Joseph ^{The bud-} the yearly budding of the hawthorn near Glassenbury ^{ding haw-} on Christmas day, no less than an annual miracle. ^{thorn nigh} ^{Glassen-} ^{bury attri-}

^f In the tower, 19th of Edward III. part i. mem. 8. [This patent is printed in Rymer's *Fœd.* III. part i. p. 44. new edition, and also by Usher, ib. p. 15.]

^g Guilielmus Goodus, cited by archbishop Usher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* p. 28=16. [See a further account of him and his work in Alegambe's *Biblioth. Soc. Jesu.* p. 314. ed. 1676.]

A.D. 76. This, were it true, were an argument (as king James did once pleasantly urge it) to prove our old style before the new, (which prevents our computation by ten days, and is used in the church of Rome,) yea, all prognosticators might well calculate their almanacks from this hawthorn. Others more warily affirm, that it doth not punctually and critically bud on Christmas day, (such miracles must be tenderly touched, lest, crushed by harsh handling they vanish into smoke, like the apples of Sodom,) but on the days near, or about it. However, it is very strange that this hawthorn should be the harbinger, and (as it were) ride post to bring the first news of the spring, holding alone (as it may seem) correspondency with the trees of the antipodes, whilst other hawthorns near unto it have nothing but winter upon them.

Different
opinions of
men con-
cerning it.

16. It is true, by pouring every night warm water on the root thereof, a tree may be maturated artificially to bud out in the midst of winter; but it is not within suspicion that any such cost is here expended. Some likewise affirm, that if an hawthorn be grafted upon an holly, it is so adopted into the stock, that it will bud in winter; but this doth not satisfy the accurateness of the time. Wherefore most men, pursued to render a reason hereof, take refuge at *occulta qualitas*, the most mannerly confession of ignorance. And God sometimes puts forth such questions and riddles in nature, on purpose to pose the pride of men conceited of their skill in such matters. But some are more uncharitable in this point, who, because they cannot find the reason hereof on earth, do fetch it from hell; not sticking to affirm, that the Devil, to dandle the infant faith of fond people, works these petty feats,

and petty wonders, having further intents to invite A. D. 76 them to superstition, and mould them to saint-worship thereby.

17. However, there is no necessity that this should The subj of the question taken away. be imputed to the holiness of Arimathean Joseph. For there is (as it is credibly said) an oak in New-forest, nigh Lindhurst, in Hantshire, which is endued with the same quality, putting forth leaves about the same time, where the firmness of the rind thereof much increaseth the wonder; and yet to my knowledge (for ought I could ever learn) none ever referred it to the miraculous influence of any saint. But I lose precious time, and remember a pleasant story, how two physicians, the one a Galenist, the other a Paracelsian, being at supper, fell into a hot dispute about the manner of digestion; and whilst they began to engage with earnestness in the controversy, a third man casually coming in, carried away the meat from them both. Thus whilst opposite parties discuss the cause of this hawthorn's budding on Christmas day, some soldiers have lately cut the tree down, and Christmas day itself is forbidden to be observed; and so, I think, the question is determined.

18. To conclude this century. By all this it doth The conclusion of this century. not appear that the first preachers of the gospel in Britain did so much as touch at Rome, much less that they received any command or commission thence to convert Britain, which should lay an eternal obligation of gratitude on this island to the see of Rome. Insomuch that Parsons himself (as unwilling to confess, as unable to deny so apparent a truth) flies at last to this slight and slender shift; "^b That
" albeit S. Joseph came not immediately from Rome,

^b Three Conversions, I. p. 25.

A.D. 76. “—yet he taught in England” (in Britain he would say) “the Roman faith.—Of which Roman faith St. Paul hath written to the Romans themselves, before the going of S. Joseph into Britany: ¹*Fides vestra annuntiatur in universo mundo.*” Hereby the Jesuit hopes still to keep on foot the engagement of this island to Rome for her first conversion. But why should he call the Christian religion the Roman faith, rather than the faith of Jerusalem, or the faith of Antioch, seeing it issued from the former, and was received and first named in the latter city, before any spark of Christianity was kindled at Rome. But, what is the main, he may sooner prove the modern Italian tongue, now spoken in Rome, to be the selfsame in propriety and purity with the Latin language in Tully’s time, than that the religion professed in that city at this day, with all the errors and superstitions thereof, is the same in soundness of doctrine and sanctity of life with that faith which by St. Paul in the Roman church was then so highly commended.

¹ Rom. i. 8.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

TO ROBERT ABDY OF LONDON, ESQ.^a

*He that hath an hand to take, and no tongue to return
thanks, deserveth for the future to be lame and dumb.
Which punishment, that it may not light on me, accept
this acknowledgment of your favours to your devoted
friend and servant,*

T. F.



ESIRE of our country's honour would A.D. 105.
now make us lay claim to Taurinus, Taurinus
no bishop
of York.
bishop of York, and reported martyr.

To strengthen our title unto him we
could produce many ^bwriters affirming
it, if number made weight in this case. But, being
convinced in our judgment that such as make him a
Briton ground their pretence on a leading mistake,
reading him *episcopum Eboracensem*, instead of *Ebroi-
censem*, Eureux (as I take it) in France^c; we will not
enrich our country by the errors of any, or advantage
her honour by the misprisions of others. Thus being
conscientiously scrupulous not to take or touch a
thread which is none of our own, we may with more

^a [Abdy of London and of
Albys to Essex, arms. Or,
2 chevronels between 3 trefoils
sable.—Robert Abdy of Lon-
don and Albys, merchant, was
created a baronet 9 June, 1660,
married Catherine, daughter of
sir John Gayer, knight, ob.
circ. 1670 B.]

^b Guil. Harrison, Descript.
Brit. in Holinshed. I. 9. p. 23.
Wernerus Rolewink de Laër.

in Fasciculo, anno 94. f. 28.
b. ed. 1477. and Hartman-
nus Schedelius in Chronico.
f. CXI. a. [This conjecture
was proposed by Harrison him-
self; see his Chron. ib. It
is fully supported by the au-
thorities quoted by Usher, ib.
17.]

^c [See Usher, Brit. Eccl.
Ant. p. 17.]

A.D. 105. boldness hereafter keep what is justly ours, and challenge what is unjustly detained from us.

A.D. 108.
Difference
of authors
concerning
the time of
king Lucius
his con-
version.

2. But the main matter which almost engrosseth all the history of this century, and, by scattered dates, is spread from the beginning to the end thereof, is the conversion of Lucius, king of Britain, to Christianity^c. However, not to dissemble, I do adventure thereon with much averseness, seeming sadly to pre-
sage, that I shall neither satisfy others nor myself; such is the variety, yea contrariety of writers about the time thereof. *If the trumpet* (saith the apostle) *giveth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?* He will be at a loss to order and dispose this story aright, who listeneth with greatest attention to the trumpet of antiquity, sounding at the same time a march and retreat; appointing Lucius to come into the world by his birth, when others design him, by death, to go out of the same. Behold, reader, a view of their differences presented unto thee; and it would puzzle Apollo himself to tune these jarring instruments into a concert.

These make king Lucius converted

	A. D.
1 P. Jovius in Descrip. Brit. [p. 4. ed. Basil. fol. 1578.]	99
2 Jo. Cajus in Hist. Cantab. [p. 22.]	108
3 Annals of Burton. [In Usher, p. 20. An interpolation; the printed copy does not commence so early.]	137
4 Nennius, in one copy. [Hist. Brit. chap. 13.] ^d	144

^c [Respecting this story of king Lucius, see Stillingfleet's Ant. of the British CC. p. 58. sq., and Usher, ib.]

^d [The printed copies of the best MSS. of Nennius place the conversion of Lucius in

the year 164, and in this they very nearly agree with Bede; probably both writers would be found more perfectly to coincide, were the different systems of chronology which each followed duly observed.]

5 Annals of Crokysdene. [Usher, ib. 20.]	150	A.D. 108.
6 Jeffery Monmouth. [f. xxxiii.] ^e	155	
7 John Capgrave.	156	
8 Matth. Florilegus, [or Mat. of Westminster; according to a MS. quoted by Usher, ib. The printed copy, as mentioned below, gives the date 185.] ...	158	
9 Florence Vigorniensis, [p. 181.]	162	
10 Antiq. of Winchester. [Usher, ib. 20.]	164	
11 Tho. Rudborne, jun. [Wharton, A. S. i. 180.] ...	165	
12 Wil. of Malmesbury. [De Antiq. Glaston. p. 293.]	166	
13 Venerable Bede. [E. H. v. p. 24.]	167	
14 Henry of Erphurt. [Usher, ib. 21.]	169	
15 Annals of Lichfield. [Usher, ib. 21.]	175	
16 Marianus Scotus. [In anno, ed. Basil. 1559.]	177	
17 Ralph de Baldoc. [Usher, ib.]	178	
18 John Bale. [Script. i. §. 29.]	179	
19 Polydor Virgil. [p. 41. ed. Basil. 1557.]	182	
20 Roger de Wendover. [Usher, ib.]	183	
21 Chron. Brit. Abbrev. [Usher, ib.]	184	
22 Matth. Paris, (Westminster.) [Usher, ib.]	185	
23 Hector Beothius, [p. 83. Paris. 1574.]	187	
24 Martinus Polonus, [p. 49. ed. Basil. 1559.]	188	
25 Saxon Annals, [p. 7. ed. Gibson.] ...	189	
26 John Harding, [chap. 51.] ^f	190	

Here is more than a grand jury of writers, which neither agree in their verdicts with their foreman, nor one with another; there being betwixt the first and the last, Paulus Jovius and John Harding, ninety years distance in their account. This, with other arguments,

^e [I do not know upon what authority Fuller makes this assertion; Geoffry of Monmouth states that king Lucius died A. D. 156, but does not give the date of his conversion. "De Gestis," &c. fol. xxxiii,

xxxiv. ed. Bad. Ascens. 1517.]

^f [I have supplied, and inserted in the text the references which are enclosed between brackets, in order to avoid confusion.]

A. D. 108. is used not only to shake, but shatter the whole reputation of the story. And we must endeavour to clear this objection before we go farther, which is shrewdly pressed by many. For if the two elders which accused Susanna were condemned for liars, being found in two tales; the one laying the scene of her incontinency under a ^dmastich tree, the other under an holm tree; why may not the relation of Lucius be also condemned for a fiction, seeing the reporters thereof more differ in time than the forenamed elders in place; seeing when and where are two circumstances, both equally important and concerning in history to the truth of any action?

The history of king Lucius not disproved by the dissension of authors concerning the time thereof.

3. But we answer, That however learned men differ in the date, they agree in the deed. They did set themselves so to heed the matter, as of most moment, being the soul and substance of history, that they were little curious (not to say very careless) in accurate noting of the time; which being well observed, doth not only add some lustre, but much strength to a relation. And indeed all computation in the primitive time is very uncertain, there being then (and a good while after) an anarchy, as I may term it, in authors their reckoning of years, because men were not subject to any one sovereign rule in accounting the year of our Lord, but every one followed his own arithmetic, to the great confusion of history, and prejudice of truth. In which age, though all start from the same place, our Saviour's birth, yet running in several ways of account, they seldom meet together in their dating of any memorable accident. Worthy therefore was his work, whoever he

^d Susanna, v. 54 and 58.

was, who first calculated the computation we use at A. D. 108. this day, and so set Christendom a copy whereby to write the date of actions, which since being generally used, hath reduced chronology to a greater certainty.

4. As for their objection, that Lucius could not be a king in the south of Britain, because it was then reduced to be a province under the Roman monarchy, it affects not any that understand how it was the Roman^e custom, both to permit and appoint petty kings in several countries (as Antiochus in Asia, Herod in Judæa, Deiotarus in Galatia), who, under them, were invested with regal power and dignity. And this was conceived to conduce to the state and amplitude of their empire^f; yea, the German emperor at this day, successor to the Roman monarchy, is styled *rex regum*, as having many princes, and particularly the king of Bohemia, homagers under him. As for other inconsistencies with truth, which depend, as retainers, on this relation of king Lucius, they prove not that this whole story should be refused, but refined; which calleth aloud to the discretion of the reader, to fan the chaff from the corn, and to his industry, to rub the rust from the gold, which almost of necessity will cleave to matters of such antiquity. Thus conceiving that for the main we have asserted king Lucius, we come to relate his history as we find it.

5. He being much taken with the miracles which he beheld truly done by pious Christians, fell in admiration of, and love with their religion; and sent

^e Vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta

servitutis et reges. Tacitus in vita Agricolæ, ch. 14.

^f [See Usher, ib. 23, 24.]

A.D. 167. Lucius sendeth to the bishop of Rome to be instructed in Christianity.

A.D. 167. Elvanus and Meduinus, men of known piety, and learning in the scriptures, to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, with a letter, requesting several things of him, but principally, that he might be instructed in the Christian faith^g. The reason why he wrote to Rome was, because at this time the church therein was (she can ask no more, we grant no less) the most eminent church in the world, shining the brighter, because set on the highest candlestick, the imperial city. We are so far from grudging Rome the happiness she once had, that we rather bemoan she lost it so soon, degenerating from her primitive purity. The letter which Lucius^h wrote is not extant at this day, and nothing thereof is to be seen, save only by reflection, as it may be collected by the answer returned by Eleutherius, which (such an one as it is) it will not be amiss here to insert.

A.D. 169. 6. “Ye require of us the Roman laws and the
 “ emperor’s to be sent over to you, which you would
 “ practice and put in ure within your realm. The
 “ Roman laws and the emperor’s we may ever
 “ reprove, but the law of God we may not. Ye have
 “ received of late, through God’s mercy, in the king-
 “ dom of Britain, the law and faith of Christ; ye
 “ have with you within the realm, both parts of the

^g [The cause of this mission is examined by Usher, *ib.* 24 sq.]

^h [The tenor of it is given by Usher from a poem by Gildas the Briton, though probably having no other foundation than the imagination of the author. See Usher, *ib.* 27.]

ⁱ This translation of the letter of Eleutherius is transcribed out of bishop Godwin’s Cata-

logue of Bishops, p. 31. ed. 1615. [The original will be found in the Latin copy of Godwin’s work, p. 22. ed. Cant. 1743; and in Parker’s *Antiq.* p. 7. ed. Drake.] There is some variety between this and that of Mr. Fox’s *Martyrology*, I. 139. ed. 1641. [Usher has also printed it from a collation of five MSS. See *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* p. 54.]

“ scriptures. Out of them by God’s grace, with the A. D. 169.
 “ council of your realm, take ye a law, and by that
 “ law (through God’s sufferance) rule your kingdom
 “ of Britain. For you be God’s vicar in your king-
 “ dom. *The Lord’s is the earth, and the fulness of*
 “ *the world, and all that dwell in it.* And again, ac-
 “ cording to the Prophet that was a king, *Thou hast*
 “ *loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore*
 “ *God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness*
 “ *above thy fellows.* And again, according to the
 “ same Prophet, *O God, give judgment unto the king,*
 “ *and thy righteousness unto the king’s son, &c.* He
 “ said not, the judgment and righteousness of the
 “ emperor, but *thy judgment and righteousness.* The
 “ king’s sons be the Christian people and folk of the
 “ realm, which be under your government, and live,
 “ and continue in peace within your kingdom. As the
 “ gospel saith, *Like as the hen gathereth her chickens*
 “ *under her wings,* so doth the king his people. The
 “ people and folk of the realm of Britain be yours,
 “ whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in
 “ concord and peace, to call them to the faith and
 “ law of Christ, to cherish and ^kto maintain them, to
 “ rule and govern them, so as you may reign ever-
 “ lastingly with him whose vicar you are: which,
 “ with the Father, and the Son, &c.”

7. Now we have done our threshing, we must A preparative for the examining the truth of this letter.
 begin our winnowing, to examine the epistle. For
 the trade of counterfeiting the letters of eminent
 men began very early in the church. Some were
 tampering with it in the apostles’ time, which occa-
 sioned St. Paul’s¹ caution, *That ye be not soon shaken*

^k In the Latin it is, *Manu tenere.*

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 2.

A.D. 169. *in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us.* Since men (then but apprentices) are now grown masters in this mystery, wherefore it will be worth our examining whether this epistle be genuine or no. Say not this doth betray a peevish, if not malicious disposition, and argues a vexatious spirit in him, which will now call the title of this letter in question, which time out of mind hath been in the peaceable possession of an authentic reputation, especially seeing it soundeth *in honorem ecclesiæ Britannicæ*; and, grant it a tale, yet it is smoothly told, to the credit of the British church. But let such know that our church is sensible of no honour but what resulteth from truth; and if this letter be false, the longer it hath been received, the more need there is of a speedy and present confutation, before it be so firmly rooted in men's belief, past power to remove it. See therefore the arguments which shake the credit thereof.

1. The date of this letter differs in several copies, and yet none of them light right on the time of Eleutherius, according to the computation of the best esteemed authors.

2. It relates to a former letter of king Lucius, wherein he seemeth to request of Eleutherius, both what he himself had before, and what the good bishop was unable to grant. For what need Lucius send for the Roman laws, to which Britain was already subjected, and ruled by them? At this very time, wherein this letter is pretended to be wrote, the Roman laws were here in force; and therefore to send for them hither was even *actum agere*, and to as much purpose, as to fetch water from Tiber to Thames. Besides, Eleutherius of all men was most

improper to have such a suit preferred to him: holy A.D. 167. man! he little meddled with secular matters, or was acquainted with the emperor's laws; only he knew how to suffer martyrdom in passive obedience to his cruel edicts.

3. How high a throne doth this letter mount Lucius on, making him a monarch? who (though *rex Britannicus*) was not *rex Britannia*, (except by a large synecdoche,) neither sole nor supreme king here, but partial, and subordinate to the Romans.

4. The scripture quoted is out of St. Hierom's translation, which came more than a hundred years after. And the age of Eleutherius could not understand the language of *manu tenere*, for *to maintain*, except it did antedate some of our modern lawyers to be their interpreter.

In a word, we know that the Gibeonites their mouldy bread was baked in an oven very near the Israelites^m, and this letter had its original of a later dateⁿ; which not appearing anywhere in the world till a thousand years after the death of Eleutherius, probably crept out of some monk's cell some four hundred years since, the true answer of Eleutherius being not extant for many years before.

8. But to proceed. Eleutherius, at the request of ^{King Lucius bapt-} king Lucius, sent unto him ^{ized.} °Faganus and Derwianus, or Dunianus, two holy men, and grave divines, to instruct him in the Christian religion, by whom the said king Lucius (called by the Britons *Leuer Maur*^p, or *the great light*) was baptized, with many of

^m Joshua ix. 12.

ⁿ See sir H. Spelman's *Concilii*, I. 34, &c., where there is another copy of this letter, with some alterations and ad-

ditions.

° Aliter Phaganus et Dunianus.

^p [According to Usher, *ib.* p. 22.]

A. D. 167. his subjects. For if when private persons were converted, Cornelius, Lydia^q, &c., their households also were baptized with them, it is easily credible that the example of a king embracing the faith drew many followers of court and country; sovereigns seldom wandering alone without their retinue to attend them. But whereas some report that most, yea^r, all of the natives of this island then turned Christians, it is very improbable; and the weary traveller may sooner climb the steepest mountains in Wales, than the judicious reader believe all the hyperbolical reports in the British chronicles hereof.

I. Monmouth his fiction of flamens and arch-flamens.

9. For Jeffery Monmouth tells us^a, that at this time there were in England twenty-eight cities, each of them having a ^tflamen, or pagan priest; and three of them, namely, London, York, and Caerlion in Wales, had archflamens, to which the rest were subjected: and Lucius placed bishops in the room of the flamens, and archbishops, metropolitans, in the places of archflamens. All which, saith he, solemnly received their confirmation from the pope. But herein our author seems not well acquainted with the propriety of the word *flamen*, their use and office amongst the Romans, who were not set severally, but many together in the same city. Nor were they subordinate one to another, but all to the priests college, and therein to the Pontifex Maximus. Besides, the British ^umanuscript, which Monmouth is conceived to have translated, makes no mention of

^q Acts xvi. 15 and 32.

^r Ita ut in brevi, nullus inveniretur infidelis. Matth. Westm. s. Paris, p. 112.

^s [See Usher, ib. 31 sq.]

^t Monmouth de gestis Brit.

f. 33.

^u Usher, De Brit. Eccl. p.

57=31.

these flamens. Lastly, these words archbishop and metropolitan are so far from being current in the days of king Lucius, that they were not coined till after-ages. So that in plain English, his flamens and archflamens seem flams and archflams, even notorious falsehoods^x. A.D. 167.

10. Great also is the mistake of another British ^{A gross mistake.} historian, affirming how in the days of king Lucius this island was divided into five Roman provinces; namely, Britain the first, Britain the second, Flavia, Maximia, and Valentia; and that each of these were then divided into twelve bishoprics, sixty in the whole; a goodly company, and more by half than

^x [This error arose from a misunderstanding of the nature of the office of the flamines. There were no archiflamines among the Romans, nor any similar religious order having the same relation to the flamines as an archbishop does to a bishop. The sacerdotes provinciarum had subordinate priests under them, but this sacerdotal order did not exist till long after the introduction of Christianity into Britain, and was derived by Maximianus from the Christian priesthood, as Stillingfleet seems clearly to have shewn, *Antiquities of the British Churches*, p. 77 sq. See also "The Appeal, &c." p. 68. Usher judiciously observes, that although these accounts of king Lucius derived principally from Geoffry of Monmouth are deserving of no credit, yet that there cannot be any doubt of the gospel having been preached in Britain as

early as the times of the apostles. We have the authority of Bede and the *Liber Pontificalis* (improperly attributed to S. Jerom and Damasus) for Lucius being the first Christian king of this island. But the imagination of Geoffry, not satisfied with this simple fact, has converted a petty king into a Roman monarch, and these twenty bishops are but the coinage of his brain. *Brit. Eccl. Ant. præf. ad Lectorem*, and p. 49 sq. See some judicious observations on the subject in Godwin, *De præsul. Angl.* p. 20.]

^y Giraldu Cambrensis de *Sedis Menevensis dignitate*, apud D. Joh. Priseum, [in *Hist. Brit. Defens.* p. 75. ed. 1573. This whole treatise of Giraldu has since been published by Wharton. See *Ang. Sac.* II. 541, where the passage here referred to will be found.]

A.D. 167. ever this land did behold. Whereas these provinces were so named from Valens, Maximus, and Flavius Theodosius, Roman emperors, many years after the death of Lucius. Thus, as the damsel convinced St. Peter to be a Galilean, for, said she, *Thy speech agreeth thereto*^z, so this fivefold division of Britain, by the very novelty of the names, is concluded to be of far later date than what that author pretendeth.

Pagan temples in Britain converted to Christian churches.

11. But it is generally agreed, that about this time many pagan temples in Britain had their property altered, and the selfsame were converted into Christian churches; particularly that dedicated to Diana in London, and another near it, formerly consecrated to Apollo, in the city now called Westminster. This was done, not out of covetousness, to save charges in founding new fabrics, but out of Christian thrift; conceiving this imitation an invitation to make heathens come over more cheerfully to the Christian faith; when beholding their temples (whereof they had an high and holy opinion) not sacrilegiously demolished, but solemnly continued to a pious end, and rectified to the service of the true God. But human policy seldom proves prosperous when tampering with Divine worship, especially when without or against direction from God's word. This new wine, put into old vessels, did in after-ages taste of the cask, and in process of time, Christianity, keeping a ^acorrespondency and some proportion with paganism, got a smack of heathen ceremonies. Surely they had better have built new nests for the holy dove, and not have lodged it where screech-

^z Mark xiv. 70.

turned into the church of All-saints.

^a Thus the Pantheon, or shrine of all gods in Rome, was

owls and unclean birds had formerly been harboured. A. D. 167.
 If the high priest amongst the Jews was forbidden to marry *a widow, or divorced woman, but that he should take a virgin of his own people to wife*^b, how unseemly was it, that God himself should have the reversion of profaneness assigned to his service, and his worship wedded to the relict, yea, (what was worse,) whorish shrines, formerly abused with idolatry!

12. Some report that at this time three thousand philosophers of the university of Cambridge were converted and baptized; that king Lucius came thither, and bestowed many 'privileges and immunities on the place, with much other improbable matter^d. For surely they do a real wrong, under a pretended courtesy, to that famous academy, to force a peruke of false grey hair upon it, whose reverend wrinkles already command respect of themselves. Yet Cambridge makes this use of these overgrown charters of pope Eleutherius, king Lucius, king Arthur, and the like, to send them out in the front as the forlorn hope, when she is to encounter with Oxford in point of antiquity; and if the credit of such old monuments be cut off (as what else can be expected), yet she still keeps her main battle firm and entire, consisting of stronger authorities, which follow after. Nor doth Cambridge care much to cast away such doubtful charters, provided her sister likewise quit all title to fabulous antiquity (setting dross against dross) and waiving tales, try both the truth of their age by the register of unquestioned

A. D. 178.
 The bounty
 of king Lucius to
 Cambridge.

^b Lev. xxi. 14.

^c Caius de Antiq. Cantab.

p. 51. ed. 1574. et Hist. Can-

tab. p. 22. ed. 1574.

^d [Usher, ib. p. 68.]

A.D. 178. authors, if this difference betwixt them be conceived to deserve the deciding.

13. Besides the churches aforementioned, many others there were whose building is ascribed to king Lucius, as namely^e:

A.D. 179.
Several
churches
founded by
king Lu-
cius.

1. St. Peter's in Cornhill in London, to which Ciran, a great courtier, lent his helping hand. It is said, for many years after, to have been the seat of an archbishopric: one Thean first enjoyed that dignity^f.

2. *Ecclesia primæ sedis*, or the chief cathedral church in Gloucester.

A.D. 180. 3. A church at Winchester, consecrated by Faganus and Duvianus, whereof one Devotus was made abbot.

4. A church and college of Christian philosophers at Bangor.

A.D. 187. 5. The church dedicated to St. Mary in Glassenbury, repaired and raised out of the ruins by Faganus and Duvianus, where they lived with twelve associates.

6. A ^bchapel in honour of Christ in Dover castle.

7. The church of St. Martin in Canterbury; understand it thus, that church which in after-ages was new named, and converted to the honour of that saint.

Of all these, that at Winchester was king Lucius his darling, which he endowed with large revenues,

^e [See Usher's Eccl. Brit. Antiq. p. 66, where the subject of these chapels and churches is examined.]

Usher, ib. 36.]

^g Pitzeus de Britan. Scriptor. p. 79.

^h Leland assert. Arthuri, f. 7. ed. 1544.

^f Tabula pensilis quæ adhuc in illa ecclesia cernitur. [See

giving it all the land twelve miles on every side of A.D. 187. the city, fencing the church about with a churchyard, on which he bestowed privileges of a sanctuary, and building a dormitory and refectory for the monks there; if the little history of ¹Winchester be to be believed, whose credit is very suspicious, because of the modern language used therein. For as country painters, when they are to draw some of the ancient scripture patriarchs, use to make them with bands, cuffs, hats, and caps, *à la mode* to the times wherein they themselves do live; so it seemeth the author of this history last cited (lacking learning to acquaint him with the garb and character of the age of king Lucius) doth pourtray and describe the bounty and church-buildings of that king, according to the phrase and fashion of that model of monkery in his own age.

14. Some Dutch writers report^k, that king Lucius ^{Two Luciuses con-founded into one.} in his old age left his kingdom, and went over into France, thence into Germany, as far as the Alps; where he converted all ¹Rhetia, and the city of Augspurg in Suevia, by his preaching, with the assistance of Emerita his sister; it being no news, in God's harvest, to see women with their sickles a reaping. It is confessed that converting of souls is a work worthy a king; David's and Solomon's preaching hath silenced all objections to the contrary. It is

ⁱ Manuscript. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana. [This is probably the MS. now preserved in the Cotton library, Domit. XIII. or else a paper MS. which was almost destroyed by fire now marked Galba A. XV. in the same repository. See Whar-

ton's Ang. Sac. I. 179, 180, and præf. p. xxvi.]

^k [See Usher, De Eccl. Brit. p. 17 and 70.]

^l Velser. Rerum August. Vindelic. lib. vi. ad an. 179. p. 136. ed. 1593.

A.D. 187. also acknowledged, that kings used to renounce the world, and betake themselves to such pious employment; though this custom, frequent in after-ages, was not so early a riser as to be up so near the primitive times. It is therefore well observed by a learned ^mman, that Lucius the German preacher was a different person from the British king, who never departed our island, but died therein. I have read, how a woman in the Lower Palatinate, being big with twins, had the fruit of her womb so strangely altered by a violent ⁿcontusion casually befalling her, that she was delivered of one monster with two heads^o, which nature had intended for two perfect children. Thus the history of this age being pregnant with a double Lucius at the same time, is by the carelessness of unadvised authors so jumbled and confounded together, that those which ought to have been parted as distinct persons, make up one monstrous one, without due proportion to truth, yea, with the manifest prejudice thereof.

^m Achilles Gassarus in Augustanæ urbis descriptione. [This work, according to Saxius (Onomast. III. 164. ed. 1780.), is only in MS. It appears to have been known to Usher, from whom Fuller borrowed this reference, merely through Munster's *Cosmograph. de Germania*, III. 609, who has

quoted largely from Gassarus. See Usher, *De Eccl. Brit.* 17 and 71.]

ⁿ Munsteri *Cosmographia*, p. 625. ed. 1559.

^o [Two monsters with one head; two perfect children connected inseparably by the forehead.]

THE THIRD CENTURY.

TO MR. SIMEON BONNELL, MERCHANT.^a

*It is proportionable to present a century, short in story, to
one low in stature, though deservedly high in the esteem
of your friend,*

T. F.



F all centuries this begins most sadly^b; A.D. 201.
at the entrance whereof we are accosted The death,
burial, and
epitaph of
king Lu-
cius. with the funerals of king Lucius, (the
brightest sun must set,) buried, as they
say, in Gloucester. Different dates of

his death are assigned, but herein we have followed
the 'most judicious. Long after, the monks of that
convent bestowed an epitaph upon him, having in
it nothing worthy of translating.

Lucius in tenebris prius idola qui coluisti,
Es merito celebris ex quo baptisma subisti^d.

It seems the puddle-poet did hope, that the jingling
of his rhyme would drown the sound of his false
quantity; except any will say that he affected to
make the middle syllable in *idola* short, because in
the days of king Lucius idolatry was curbed and

^a [Bonnell of London. Arms, Or, a lion rampant within an orle of 8 cross crosslets az. B.]

^b [See Usher, ib. 72 sq.]

^c Annals of Sarum, M. Paris and Westm. The London

tables, and Hist. of Rochester, quoted by Usher, ib.

^d John Fiberius or Bever, and the Abbreviat. of the Brit. Chron., quoted by Usher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq. 73.

A.D. 201. contracted, whilst Christianity did dilate and extend itself.

The Christian faith from the first preaching thereof ever continued in Britain.

2. But Christianity in Britain was not buried in the grave of Lucius, but survived after his death. Witness Gildas, whose words deserve to be made much of, as the clearest evidence of the constant continuing of religion in this island. "Christ's precepts," saith he^d, "though they were received but lukewarmly of the inhabitants, yet they remained entirely with some, less sincerely with others, even until the nine years of persecution under Diocletian." Whose expression concerning the entertaining of Christianity here, though spoken indefinitely of the British inhabitants, yet we are so far from understanding it universally of all this island, or generally of the most, or eminently of the principal parts thereof, that, if any list to contend that the main of Britain was still pagan, we will not oppose. A thing neither to be doubted of, nor wondered at, if the modern complaints of many be true, that even in this age there are dark corners in this kingdom, where profaneness lives quietly with invincible ignorance; yea, that the first professors in Christianity were but lukewarm in religion, will (without oath made for the truth thereof) be easily believed by such who have felt the temper of the English Laodiceans nowadays. However, it appears there were some honest hearts, that still kept Christianity on foot in the kingdom. So that since religion first dwelt here, it never departed hence; like

^d Quæ [præcepta in Britannia] licet ab incolis tepide suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integre, et alios minus, usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani novennem—permanere. Hist. Gildæ, c. vii. p. 3. ed. Gale.

the candle of the virtuous wife, *It went not out by night*^e: by the night neither of ignorance, nor of security, nor of persecution. The island generally never was an apostate, nor by God's blessing ever shall be.

3. To the authority of Gildas we will twist the testimony of two fathers, both flourishing in this century, Tertullian and Origen; plainly proving Christianity in Britain in this age; both of them being undoubtedly orthodox (without mixture of Montanist or Millenary) in historical matters. Hear the former: "There are places of the Britons which were unaccessible to the Romans, but yet subdued to Christ." Origen in like manner: "The power of God our Saviour is even with them which in Britain are divided from our world." These ought to prevail in any rational belief, rather than the detracting reports of two modern men, Paradine and Dempster, who affirm that after Lucius' death, the British nation returned to their heathen rites, and remained infidels for full five hundred years after^h. Which wordsⁱ, if casually falling from them, may be

^e Prov. xxxi. 18.

^f Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Tertull. advers. Judæos, c. vii.

^g Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est, qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur. Orig. in Lucæ c. 1. Hom. 6. III. 939. ed. Huet.

^h [For an account of the falsehood of this report and its origin, see Usher, ib. 91.]

ⁱ Paradine Ang. descrip.

comp. c. 22, as quoted by Usher, ib. 74. Dempster in Appar. Hist. Scot. I. 6. [Of Paradine's very rare book I have never seen a copy. It was printed at Paris in the year 1545, according to Nicéron, Mem. xxxiii. 169, who gives it the following title: "Anglicæ descriptionis et historię Compendium." W. Paradine was dean of the collegiate church of Baujeu.

Two fathers to be believed before two children.

A.D. 201. passed by with pardon; if ignorantly uttered (from such pretenders to learning), will be heard with wonder; if wilfully vented, must be taxed for a shameless and impudent falsehood. Had Dempster (the more positive of the two in this point) read as many authors as he quoteth, and marked as much as he read, he must have confuted himself: yea, though he had obstinately shut his eyes, so clear a truth would have shined through his eyelids^k. It will be no wild justice or furious revenge, but equity, to make themselves satisfaction, if the Britons declare Dempster devoid of the faith of an historian, who endeavoured to deprive their ancestors of the Christian faith for many years together; his pen, to befriend the north, doing many bad offices to the south part of this island.

The judgment of the Magdeburgenses in his point.

4. The Magdeburgenses, compilers of the General Ecclesiastical History, not having less learning, but more ingenuity, speaking of the churches through Europe in this age, thus express themselves: "Then follow the isles of the ocean, where we first meet with Britain; ¹*Mansisse et hac ætate ejus insulæ ecclesias, affirmare non dubitamus*; we doubt not to affirm, that the churches of that island did also remain in this age." But as for the names of the places, and persons professing it, we crave to be excused from bringing in the bill of our particulars.

^k [Thomas Dempsterus, homo multæ lectionis sed nullius plane judicii. Usher De Brit. Eccl. 6. A very mild censure of a man who has collected without any discrimination a mass of most senseless rubbish.]

¹ Cent. III. 2. col. 6.

5. By the Levitical law, *If an ox, sheep, or beast, were delivered to a man to keep, and it were stolen away from him, the keeper should make restitution to the owner thereof; but if it was torn in pieces, and he could bring the fragments thereof for witness, he was not bound to make it good*^m. Had former historians delivered the entire memory of the passages of this century to our custody, and charged us with them, the reader might justly have blamed our negligence, if for want of our industry or carefulness they had miscarried; but seeing they were devoured by age, in evidence whereof we produce these torn rever-
A.D. 201.
Want of
work no
fault of the
workman.
 sions, hardly rescued from the teeth of time, we pre-
 sume no more can justly be exacted of us.

6. Gildasⁿ very modestly renders the reason why so little is extant of the British history: *Scripta patriæ, scriptorumve monumenta, si quæ fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exulum classe longius deportata, non comparent*. "The monuments," saith he, "of our country, or writers (if there were any) appear not, as either burnt by the fire of enemies, or transported far off by our banished countrymen."
Reason why
so little left
of this age.

7. This is all I have to say of this century; and must now confess myself as unable to go on, so
Conclusion
of this cen-
tury.
 ashamed to break off; scarce having had, of a full hundred years, so many words of solid history. But as I find little, so I will feign nothing; time being better spent in silence than in lying. Nor do I doubt but clean stomachs will be better satisfied

^m Exod. xxii. 12.

ⁿ [Hist. chap. 2. The cases of the words are slightly altered to suit the sense.]

A. D. 201. with one drop of the milk of truth, than foul feeders
(who must have their bellies full) with a trough of
wash, mingled with the water of fabulous inventions.
If any hereafter shall light on more history of these
times, let them not condemn my negligence, whilst
I shall admire their happiness.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

TO THEOPHILUS BIDULPH OF LONDON, ESQ.^a

Of all shires in England, Staffordshire was (if not the soonest) the largest sown with the seed of the church, I mean, the blood of primitive martyrs, as by this century doth appear. I could not therefore dedicate the same to a fitter person than yourself, whose family hath flourished so long in that county, and whose favours have been so great unto your thankful friend,

T. F.



ARK and tempestuous was the morning of this century, which afterward cleared up to be a fair day. It began with great affliction to God's saints. The Spirit saith to the church of Smyrna,

A.D. 303.
First persecution in Britain under Diocletian.

Ye shall have tribulation ten days^b. This is commonly understood of the ten general persecutions over all the Christian world. But herein Divine mercy magnified itself towards this island, that the last oecumenical was the first provincial persecution in Britain. God, though he made our church his darling, would not make it a wanton; she must taste of the rod with the rest of her sisters. The *fiery trial^c* spoken of by the apostle, now found out even those which by water were divided from the rest of the world. This tenth persecution, as it was the last, so it was the greatest of all, because Satan the shorter his reign,

^a [Biddulph. Arms, argent an eagle displayed sable.]

^b Rev. ii. 10.

^c 1 Pet. iv. 12.

A.D. 303. the sharper his rage; so that what his fury lacks in the length, it labours to gain in the thickness thereof.

Alban the
British St.
Stephen
how a citi-
zen of
Rome.

2. In this persecution the first Briton which to heaven led the van of the noble army of martyrs, was Alban, a wealthy inhabitant of Verolam-cestre, and a citizen of Rome^c; for so Alexander Neccham^d reports him.

Hic est martyrii roseo decoratus honore,
Albanus, cives, inclyta Roma, tuus.

Here Alban, Rome, thy citizen renown'd,
With rosy grace of martyrdom was crown'd.

None need stop, much less stumble at this seeming contradiction, easily reconciled by him that hath read St. Paul, in one place proclaiming himself *an Hebrew of the Hebrews*^e, and elsewhere pleading himself to be a Roman^f, because born in Tarsus a city of Cilicia and Roman colony; as Verolam-cestre was at this time enfranchised with many immunities^g. Thus Alban was a Britain by parentage, a Roman by privilege; naturally a Britain, naturalized a Roman; and, which was his greatest honour, he was also citizen of that spiritual Jerusalem which is from above.

The man-
ner of Al-
ban's con-
version.

3. His conversion happened on this manner. Am-
phibalus, a Christian preacher of Caerleon in Wales,

^c ["Ex illustri Romanorum
"prosapia originem ducens,"
according to the ancient Anglo-
Saxon life of him, translated
into Latin by William Martell,
himself a monk of St. Alban's,
of the order of Benedictines,
and flourishing in the 12th cen-
tury. This life has been pub-
lished by the Bollandists in the

Acta Sanctorum, June 22. T. v.
p. 149. See other authorities
quoted by Usher, ib. 83, 84.]

^d In his poem on Verulam,
quoted by Usher, Brit. Eccl.
Ant. 76.

^e Philipp. iii. 5.

^f Acts xxii. 25.

^g [See Usher, ib. 76.]

was fain to fly from persecution into the eastern A. D. 303. parts of this island, and was entertained by Alban in his house in Verulam. Soon did the sparks of this guest's zeal catch hold on his host, and inflamed him with love to the Christian religion. Herein our Saviour made good his promise, *He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward*^b. And the shot of Amphibalus his entertainment was plentifully discharged, in Alban's sudden and sincere conversion. Not long after, a search being made for Amphibalus, Alban secretly and safely conveyed him away, and exchanging clothes with him, offered himself for his guest to the pagan officers, who at that instant were a sacrificing to their devil-godsⁱ; where not only Alban, being required, refused to sacrifice, but also he reprov'd others for so doing, and thereupon was condemned to most cruel torments. But he conquered their cruelty with his patience: and though they tortured their brains to invent tortures for him, he endured all with cheerfulness; till rather their weariness than pity made them desist. And here we must bewail that we want the true story of this man's martyrdom, which impudent monks have mixed with so many improbable tales, that it is a torture to a discreet ear to hear them. However, we will set them down as we find them; the rather because we count it a thrifty way, first to glut the reader's belief with popish miracles, that so he may loathe to look or listen after them in the sequel of the history.

4. Alban being sentenced to be beheaded, much people flocked to the place of his execution, which

^b Matt. x. 41.

ⁱ Beda, H. E. i. 7.

The miraculous martyrdom of Alban.

A. D. 303. was on a hill, called Holm-hurst^j; to which they were to go over a river, where the narrow passage admitted of very few abreast. Alban being to follow after all the multitude, and perceiving it would be very late before he could come to act his part, and counting every delay half a denial, (who will blame one for longing to have a crown?) by his prayer obtained that the river, parting asunder, afforded free passage for many together. The corrupted copy of Gildas calls this river the ^kThames. But if the miracle were as far from truth as Thames from Verulam (being sixteen miles distant), it would be very hard to bring them both together. The sight hereof so wrought with him who was appointed to be his executioner, that he utterly refused the employment, desiring rather to die with him or for him, than to offer him any violence. Yet soon was another substituted in his place: for some cruel Doeg will quickly be found to do that office which more merciful men decline.

^j Understand it so called afterwards in the time of the Saxons. [Or rather, Holyn-hurst, as it is found in a copy of Tinmouth preserved in the Lambeth library. See Smith's note on Bede, i. 7. and some remarks upon the word in Usher, ib. 87. There would be no absurdity in retaining the word Thamesis, (although according to Usher it is generally omitted in all the accounts of the sufferings of St. Alban) in the passage of Gildas, from whom this account of the martyrdom of St. Alban is derived, because Gildas nowhere

mentions the place of the martyrdom of St. Alban, although Bede and other writers say that he suffered at Verulam. If however he was to be executed in the capital, and not in Verulam, it would rather appear that he should have been sent to York, if, as some of the best English antiquarians have thought, York was at that time the capital of Great Britain. See however Usher, ib. 79.]

^k Thames is wanting in the manuscript Gildas, in Cambridge library. [Hist. c. viii.]

5. Alban at the last being come to the top of the A. D. 303. hill, was very dry, and desirous to drink. Wonder not that he being presently to taste of joys for evermore should wish for fading water. Sure he thirsted most for God's glory, and did it only to catch hold of the handle of an occasion to work a miracle, for the good of the beholders. For presently by his prayer he summoned up a spring to come forth on the top of the hill, to the amazement of all that saw it. Yet it moistened not his executioner's heart with any pity, who notwithstanding struck off the head of this worthy saint¹, and instantly his own eyes fell out of his head, so that he could not see the villainy which he had done. Presently after, the former convert-executioner, who refused to put Alban to death, was put to death himself, baptized, no doubt, though not with water, in his own blood. The body of Alban was afterwards plainly buried; that age knowing no other use of saint's dust, than to commit it to the dust, *earth to earth*, not acquainted with adoration and circumgestation of relics, as ignorant of the manner how, as the reason why, to do it. But some hundred years after king Offa disturbed the sleeping corpse of this saint, removing them to a more stately, though less quiet bed, enshrining them, as (God willing) shall be related hereafter^m.

6. Immediately followed the martyrdom of Amphibalus, Alban's guest, and ghostly father, though the story of his death be encumbered with much obscurity. For first there is a query in his very name: why called Amphibalus? and how came this com-

A new spring of water at Alban's summons appears in the top of a hill.

Sept. 16. Amphibalus. Difference about his name.

¹ May 23. Aliter, June 22. ing to Usher.]
[22d of June according to ^m See Mat. Paris, Vita Offæ Bede, ib. 23d of May accord- secundi, p. 26.

A. D. 303. pounded Greek word to wander into Wales? except any will say, that this man's British name was by authors in after-ages so translated into Greek. Besides, the name speaks rather the vestment than the wearer, signifying a cloak wrapt or cast about, (Samuel was marked by such a mantle,) and it may be he got his name hence; as Robert Curt-hose, son to William the Conqueror, had his surname from going in such a garment. And it is worth our observing, that this good man passeth nameless in all authors till about 400 years since, when Jeffery Monmouth was his godfather, and first calls him Amphibalus, for reasons concealed from us, and best known to himself^m.

The cruel
manner of
his martyr-
dom.

7. But it matters not for words, if the matter were true, being thus reported. A thousand inhabitants of Verulam went into Wales to be further informed in the faith by the preaching of Amphibalus, who were pursued by a pagan army of their fellow-citizens, by whom they were overtaken, overcome, and murdered; save that one man only (like Job's messenger) who escaped of them to report the loss of the rest. And although every thing unlikely is not untrue, it was a huge drag-net, and cunningly cast, that killed all the fish in the river. Now these pagan Verolamians brought Amphibalus back again, and being within ken of their city, in the village called Redburn, three miles from Verulam, they cruelly put him to death. For making an incision

^m Usher, Ant. Brit. Eccl. 159=84. [Nothing is to be found respecting his martyrdom in Gildas, Bede, or the Sarum breviary, or any of the ancient martyrologies. See Usher, ib. 84. The word *amphibolus*, or

rather *ἀμφίβολον*, was used to denote the upper garment worn by monks or clerical persons. See the authorities quoted by Usher, ib. 281. Such is the expression in Gildas, p. 10, "Sub sancti abbatis amphibalo."]

in his belly, they took out his guts, and tying them to a stake, whipped him round about it. All which he endured, as free from impatience as his persecutors from compassion. Thus died Amphibalus; and a writer^a born and named from that place reporteth, that in his days the two knives which stabbed him were kept in the church of Redburn^o. The heat and resplendent lustre of this saint's suffering wrought as the sunbeams, according to the capacity of the matter it met with, in the beholders, melting the waxen minds of some into Christianity, and obdurating the hard hearts of others with more madness against religion.

7. Tradition reports, that the stake he was tied to afterwards turned to a tree, extant at this very day^p, and admired of many as a great piece of wonder, though (as most things of this nature) more in report than reality. That it hath green leaves in winter mine eyes can witness false; and as for its standing at a stay time out of mind, neither impaired nor improved in bigness, (which some count so strange,) be it reported to woodmen and foresters whether it be not ordinary. I think the wood of the tree is as miraculous as the water of the well adjoining is

A. D. 303.

Vain fancies concerning the stake of Amphibalus.

^a Thomas Redburn, who wrote 1480. [According to Bale, Cent. vii. §. 94. But with more probability Usher places him forty years earlier. E.B. Antiq. p. 66. Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, I. 179, has published a *Hist. Maj. Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*, and in the preface to the same volume, p. xxvi. has given an account of this writer, with his usual skill and sagacity.]

^o [This is stated by Mat. Paris, who has incorporated part of the legend of St. Alban into his history, A. D. 1178. p. 136. ed. 1640. Rudbourn may also have stated it, but this part of his history is only in MS. His narrative is for the most part derived both in earlier and later portions from Matthew Paris.]

^p I mean anno 1643.

A. D. 303. medicinal, which fond people fetch so far; and yet a credulous drinker may make a cordial drink thereof.

The martyrdom of another thousand Britons variously reported.

8. At the time of Amphibalus his martyrdom, another thousand of the Verulam citizens, being converted to Christ, were by command of the judges all killed in the same place^q. A strange execution, if true, seeing John Rosse^r of Warwick lays the scene of this tragedy far off, and at another time, with many other circumstances inconsistent with this relation; telling us how at Lichfield in Staffordshire this great multitude of people were long before slain by the pagans as they attended to the preaching of Amphibalus. This relation is favoured by the name of Lichfield, which in the British tongue signifies a Golgotha, or place bestrewed with skulls^s. In allusion whereto, that city's arms are a field surcharged with dead bodies. He needs almost a miraculous faith to be able to remove mountains, yea, to make the sun stand still, and sometimes to go back, who will undertake to accord the contradictions in time and place between the several relators of this history.

Several places pretend to, and contend for the same martyrdom.

9. The records of Winchester make mention of a great massacre, whereby at this time all their monks were slain in their church, whilst the Chronicle of Westminster challengeth the same to be done in their convent; and the history of Cambridge ascribeth it to the Christian students of that university, killed by their British persecutors. Whether this happened

^q Usher, de Brit. Eccl. 160=85.

^r In his book of the bishops of Worcester, [quoted by Usher, ib. 84.]

^s [Respecting the etymology

of this name, see "The Ap-
" peal, &c." p. 70, in which
Fuller has published a Latin
letter, respecting the meaning
of the word, from one of his
Welsh correspondents.]

in any or all of these places I will not determine: A. D. 303. for he tells a lie, though he tells a truth, that peremptorily affirms that which he knows is but uncertain. Meantime we see, that it is hard for men to suffer martyrdom, and easy for their posterity to brag of their ancestors' sufferings; yea, who would not entitle themselves to the honour when it is parted from the pain? When persecution is a coming, every man posteth it off, as the Philistines did the ark infected with the plague, and no place will give it entertainment^t. But when the storm is once over, then (as seven cities contended for Homer's birth in them) many places will put in a claim to share in the credit thereof.

10. Besides Amphibalus, suffered Aaron and Julius, two substantial citizens of Caerleon, and then Socrates and Stephanus, forgotten by our British writers, but remembered by foreign authors, and Augulius, bishop of London, then called Augusta^u. Besides these, we may easily believe many more went the same way; for such commanders-in-chief do not fall without common soldiers about them. It was superstition in the Athenians to build an altar *to the unknown God*^v; but it would be piety in us here to erect a monument in memorial of these unknown martyrs, whose names are lost. The best is, God's calendar is more complete than man's best martyrologies; and their names are written in the book of life, who on earth are wholly forgotten.

11. One may justly wonder that the first four The cause of the great

^t 1 Sam. v.

^u [See Usher, ib. p. 89, 90. Aaron and Julius on the 1st of July, Socrates and Stephanus

on the 17th of September, Augulius on the 7th of February the next year.]

^v Acts xvii. 23.

A. D. 303. hundred years of the primitive church in Britain, being so much observable, should be so little observed, the pens of historians writing thereof seeming starved for matter in an age so fruitful of memorable actions. But this was the main reason thereof, that living in persecution (that age affording no Christians idle spectators, which were not actors on that sad theatre) they were not at leisure to do, for suffering. And as commonly those can give the least account of a battle who were most engaged in it, (their eyes the while being turned into armies, their seeing into fighting,) so the primitive confessors were so taken up with what they endured, they had no vacation largely to relate their own or others' sufferings. Of such monuments as were transmitted to posterity, it is probable most were martyred by the tyranny of the pagans: nor was it to be expected, that those who were cruel to kill the authors, would be kind to preserve their books.

A. D. 304.
Constant.
Chlorus
gives the
Christians
peace.

12. Afterwards it pleased God to put a period to his servants' sufferings, and the fury of their enemies^w. For when Diocletian and Maximian had laid down the ensigns of command, Constantius Chlorus was chosen emperor in these western provinces of France, Spain, and Britain^x, whose carriage towards Christians Eusebius thus describeth: *τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάζας*, "that he pre-
"served such religious people as were under his
"command without any hurt or harm." So that under him the church in these parts had a breathing-time from persecution. But I am afraid that that

^w [See Usher, *ib.* 91.]

^x Eusebius, [*Hist. Eccl.* viii.

13. Cf.] *de vita Constantini*, lib. i. c. 9, 11. and Orosius, vii. 25.

learned pen^y goes a little too far, who makes him A. D. 305.
founder of a bishopric at York, and styleth him "an
"emperor surpassing in all virtue and Christian
"piety:" seeing the latter will hardly be proved,
that Constantius was a thoroughpaced Christian,
except by our Saviour's argument, *He that is not
against us is on our part*^z. And Constantius did this
good to Christianity, that he did it no harm: and not
only so, a privative benefactor to piety, but positive
thus far, that he permitted and preserved those who
would rebuild the decayed Christian churches. But
the greatest benefaction which he bestowed on
Christians was, that he was father to Constantine.
Thus as physicians count all sudden and violent
alterations in men's bodies dangerous, especially
when changing from extremes to extremes, so God
in like manner adjudged it unsafe for his servants
presently to be posted out of persecution into pro-
sperity; and therefore he prepared them by degrees,
that they might be better able to manage their fu-
ture happiness, by sending this Constantius, a prince
of a middle disposition betwixt pagan and Christian,
to rule some few years over them.

13. At York this Constantius Chlorus did die and He dieth at
York.
was buried^a. And therefore Florilegus, or the flower-
gatherer, as he calleth himself, (understand Matthew
of Westminster,) did crop a weed instead of a
flower, when he reports "that in the year 1283 the
"body of this Constantius was found at Caer-Custe-

^y Camden. Brit. in descrip-
tion of York, p. 573. [Camden
does not speak upon this point
from his own authority. See
also Usher, ib. p. 39.]

^z Mark ix. 40.

^a As is witnessed by Hiero-
nymus, in Chronico, [rather in
his translation of the Chronicle
of Eusebius, in an. 309. Hen.
of Huntingdon, f. 176,] and
Eutropius, Hist. x. 1.

A. D. 305. "nith^a in Wales, and honourably bestowed in the "church of Caer-narvon by the command of king "Edward the First^b." Constantius dying, bequeathed the empire to Constantine, his eldest son by Helen his former wife; and the soldiers at York cast the purple robe upon him, whilst he wept, and put spurs to horse to avoid the importunity of the army, attempting and requiring so instantly to make him emperor: but the happiness of the

A. D. 307. state overcame his modesty. And whereas formerly
Feb. 27. Christians for the peace they possessed were only tenants at will to the present emperor's goodness, this Constantine passed this peaceable estate to the Christians and their heirs, or rather, to the immortal corporation of God's church, making their happiness hereditary by those good laws which he enacted. Now because this assertion, that Constantine was a Briton by birth, meets with opposition, we will take some pains in clearing the truth thereof.

Worth the
scrutiny to
clear Con-
stantine a
Briton by
birth.

14. Let none say, the kernel will not be worth the cracking, and so that Constantine were born, it matters not where he was born. For we may observe God's Spirit to be very punctual in registering the birthplaces of famous men; *The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there^c*. And as David cursed mount Gilboa, where godly Jonathan got his death^d, so by the

^a [That is, the city of Constantine. Matthew of Westminster (Hist. p. 371.) merely states that the body of Constantius was found at Caernarvon near Snowdon, which place Camden conceives to be the same as Caer-custeinth, or rather Cair-custent, the old town upon the ruins of which he supposes Caernarvon to have been built.

Yet Matthew of Westminster, under the year 305, states that Constantius died at York.]

^b Compare Mr. Camden's Brit. in Caernarvonshire, p. 535, with him in the description of York, p. 572. [And Usher, ib. p. 33.]

^c Psalm lxxxvii. 6.

^d 2 Sam. i. 21.

same proportion (though inverted) it follows, those A. D. 307. places are blest and happy where saints take their first good handsel of breath in this world. Besides, Constantine was not only one of a thousand, but of myriads, yea of millions, who first turned the tide in the whole world, and not only quenched the fire, but even overturned the furnace of persecution, and enfranchised Christianity through the Roman emperor: and therefore no wonder if Britain be ambitious in having, and zealous in holding, such a worthy to be born in her.

15. An unanswerable evidence to prove the point The main argument to prove the point. in controversy, that Constantine the Great was a Briton, is fetched from the panegyrist, (otherwise called Eumenius Rhetor,) in his oration made to Constantine himself^e, but making therein an apostrophe to Britain; *O fortunata, et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti!* "O happy Britain, and blessed above all other lands, "which didst first behold Constantine Cæsar!" Twist this testimony with another thread, spun of the same hand; *Liberavit ille [pater Constantius] Britannias servitute, tu etiam nobiles, illic oriendo, fecisti^f:* "Your father Constantius did free the British provinces from slavery, and you have ennobled them, "by taking thence your original." The same is affirmed by the writer of the life of St. Helen, mother to Constantine, written about the year of our Lord 940 in the English Saxon tongue^g: as also by William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon^h, John of

^e Panegyric. [ix. 9. ed. Livin. 1607.]

^f Panegyric. v. 4.

^g [This is probably the le-

gend of St. Helena abridged by John Capgrave, and printed in his *Legenda Sanctorum*]

^h [Hist. f. 176.]

A. D. 307. Salisbury^l, and all other English writers. And lest any should object that these writing the history of their own country are too lightfingered to catch any thing (right or wrong) sounding to the honour thereof, many most learned foreign historians, Pomponius Lætus, Polydore Virgil, Beatus Rhenanus, Franciscus Balduinus, Onuphrius Panvinus, Cæsar Baronius, Anthony Possevine, and others, concur with them, acknowledging Helen, Constantine's mother, a Briton, and him born in Britain^k.

Answers to
the objec-
tions of the
contrary
party.

16. But whilst the aforesaid authors in prose softly rock the infancy of, yet little, Constantine the Great in Britain, and whilst others in verse (especially Joseph of Exeter^l and Alexander Necham) sweetly sing lullabies unto him^m, some learned men are so rough and uncivil as to overturn his cradle, yea, wholly deprive Britain of the honour of his nativity: whose arguments follow, with our answers unto them.

Object. 1. The panegyrist speaking how Britain first saw Constantine Cæsar, refers not to his ordinary life, but imperial lustreⁿ. Britain beheld him not first a child, but first saw him Cæsar; not fetching thence his natural being, but honourable birth, first saluted Cæsar in Britain.

Ans. Even Lipsius (Britain's greatest enemy in this point) confesseth, that though Constantine was

^l [Proleg. in Polycraticum.]

^k [This subject has been discussed with his usual learning by Primate Usher, ib. 93 and 103. But the reference to William of Malmsbury is an oversight, unless Usher used some MS. of this author containing the passage in question, varying from the printed copy. Fuller

refers also to this subject in his Holy War, i. §. 4.]

^l In Antiocheide sua, [quoted by Usher, ib. 94.]

^m See his Tetrastichon in bishop Usher de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 76=95.

ⁿ Joannes Livineius not. in Panegyr. v. p. 331.

first elected emperor in Britain, yet he was first A. D. 307. pronounced Cæsar in France, in the life and health of his father^o; (Cæsar was a title given to the heir apparent to the empire;) and therefore the words in the panegyrist, in their native construction, relate to his natural birth.

Object. 2. Constantine Porphyrogenetes, the Grecian emperor, about 700 years since, in his book of government^p which he wrote to his son, confesseth Constantine the Great to have been a Frank by his birth, whence learned Meursius collecteth him a Frenchman by his extraction.

Ans. It is notoriously known to all learned men, that the Greeks in that middle age (as the Turks at this very day) called all western Europeans Franks. Wherefore as he that calleth such a fruit of the earth grain (a general name) denieth not but it may be wheat, a proper kind thereof; so the terming Constantine a Frank doth not exclude him from being a Briton, yea strongly implieth the same, seeing no western country in Europe ever pretended unto his birth.

Object. 3. Bede, a grave and faithful author, makes no mention of Constantine born in Britain, who (as Lipsius marketh^q) would not have omitted a matter so much to the honour of his own nation.

Ans. By the leave of Lipsius, Constantine and Bede, though of the same country, were of several

^o Note in Admiranda, lib. iv. c. 11. [Antv. 1598.]

^p [De administrando Imperio, chap. 13. ed. Meursius, 1617.]

^q In his Epistle to Mr.

Camden. Non Bedas—ille antiquus et fidus an gloriæ gentis suæ non favet? [in Camdeni Epist. p. 67. ed. Smith; and Usher, ib. p. 102.]

A. D. 307. nations. Bede being a Saxon, was little zealous to advance the British honour: the history of which church he rather toucheth than handleth, using it only as a porch to pass through it to the Saxon history. And Saxons in general had little skill to seek, and less will to find out any worthy thing in British antiquities, because of the known antipathy betwixt them.

Object. 4. Procopius^r maketh Drepanum, a haven in Bithynia, (so called because there the sea runs crooked in form of a sickle,) to be the place where Constantine had his τροφεία, or first nursing, very near to his birth^s; and Nicephorus Gregoras^t makes him born in the same country.

Ans. The former speaks not positively, but saith φασί, "men say so," reporting a popular error. The latter is a late writer, living under Andronicus junior, anno 1340, and therefore not to be believed before others more ancient.

Object. 5. But Julius Firmicus^u, contemporary with Constantine himself, an author above exception, maketh this Constantine to be born at Naisus (in printed books Tharsus) a city of Dacia.

Ans. An excellent critic^v hath proved the printed copies of Firmicus to be corrupted, and justifieth it out of approved manuscripts, that not Constantine the Great the father, but Constantine the younger,

^r De ædificiis Justiniani. [lib. v. p. 46. ed. Hoeschel. 1607.]

^s [Ἡμερὰ τὰ τροφεία Κωνσταντίνου ἐκτείνων. Upon which passage see Usher, ib. 98.]

^t [Evidently an error for Nicephorus Callistius. See his Hist. Eccl. vii. 18. and viii. 2.

ed. Paris. 1630, nothing of the kind is to be found in Gregoras, as far as I can discover.]

^u [Mathes. i. 4. p. 14. ed. 1551.]

^v Camden in his letter to Lipsius, printed in Usher de Eccl. Brit. p. 185=100. [and in Camden's Epist. p. 65.]

his son, was intended by Firmicus born in that A.D. 307. place.

Thus we hope we have cleared the point with ingenuous readers in such measure as is consistent with the brevity of our history. So that of this Constantine (a kind of outward saviour in the world to deliver people from persecution) we may say, with some allusion to the words of the Prophet^u, (but with a humble reservation of the infinite distance betwixt the persons,) AND THOU BRITAIN ART NOT THE MEANEST AMONG THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE, FOR OUT OF THEE DID COME A GOVERNOR, WHICH DID RULE THE ISRAEL OF GOD, GIVING DELIVERANCE AND PEACE TO THE SAINTS.

17. Now see what a pinch Verstegan^v (whose teeth are sharpened with the difference of religion) Mr. Fox defended against the cavils of Verstegan. gives Mr. Fox: "What is it other than an absurdity for an English author to begin his epistle (to a "huge volume^w) with Constantine, the great and "mighty emperor, the son of Helen, an English "woman, &c. Whereas," saith he, "in truth St. "Helen, the mother of Constantine, was no English "woman, but a British woman." And yet Fox his words are capable of a candid construction, if by English women we understand (by a favourable prolepsis) one born in that part of Britain which since hath been inhabited by the English. Sure in the same dialect St. Alban hath often been called the first martyr of the English by many writers of good esteem. Yea the Breviary of Sarum^x, allowed and

^u Micah v. 2.

^v In his Epistle to this nation [prefixed to his Restitution of decayed intelligence].

^w He meaneth his Books of

Acts and Monuments.

^x In officio sancti Albani. [Concerning this office in the Breviary, see Usher, ib. 78.]

A.D. 307. confirmed no doubt by the infallible church of Rome, greets St. Alban with this salute ;

Ave, proto-martyr Anglorum,
Miles regis angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum.

Sure Helen was as properly an English woman as Alban an English man, being both British in the rigid letter of history, and yet may be interpreted English in the equity thereof. Thus it is vain for any to write books, if their words be not taken in a courteous latitude, and if the reader meets not his author with a pardon of course for venial mistakes, especially when his pen slides in so slippery a passage.

Three cities
contend for
Constantine born
in them.

18. And now having asserted Constantine a Briton, we are engaged afresh in a new controversy betwixt three cities, with equal zeal and probability, challenging Constantine to be theirs by birth ; London^y, York^z, and Colchester^a. We dare define nothing, not so much out of fear to displease, (though he that shall gain one of these cities his friend shall make the other two his foes by his verdict,) but chiefly because little certainty can be pronounced in a matter so long since, and little evident. Let me refresh myself and the reader with relating and applying a pleasant story. Once at the burial of St. Teliau, second bishop of Landaff, three places did strive to have the interring of his body ; Pen-

^y William Fitzstephens in the description of London, p. 708. [published at the end of Stowe's Survey of London, 1633.]

^z Oratores Regis Angliæ in Concil. Constant. [See Usher, ib. 13, 95.]

^a Camden's Brit. in Essex, [p. 325.]

nalun, where his ancestors were buried, Lan-Teilau-
vawr, where he died, and Landaff, his episcopal see. A. D. 307.

Now after prayer to God to appease this contention in the place where they had left him, there appeared suddenly three hearses, with three bodies so like, as no man could discern the right^b: and so every one taking one, they were all well pleased. If by the like miracle, as there three corpses of Teliau encoffined, so here three child-Constantines encradled might be represented, the controversy betwixt these three cities were easily arbitrated, and all parties fully satisfied. But seriously to the matter. That which gave occasion to the varieties of their claims to Constantine's birth may probably be this, that he was born in one place, nursed in another, and perchance, being young, bred in a third. Thus we see our Saviour, though born in Bethlehem, yet was accounted a Nazarite, of the city of Nazareth, where he was brought up: and this general error took so deep impression in the people, it could not be removed out of the minds and mouths of the vulgar.

19. Constantine being now peaceably settled in the imperial throne, there followed a sudden and general alteration in the world; persecutors turning patrons of religion. O the efficacy of a godly emperor's example, which did draw many to a conscientious love of Christianity, and did drive more to a civil conformity thereunto! The gospel, formerly a forester, now became a citizen; and leaving the woods, wherein it wandered, hills and holes, where it hid itself before, dwelt quietly in populous places. The stumps of ruined churches lately destroyed by Diocletian grew up into beautiful buildings; ora-

A. D. 312.
Peace and prosperity
restored to the church
by Constantine.

^b Godwin, [de Præsul. p. 592.]

A.D. 312. tories were furnished with pious ministers, and they provided of plentiful maintenance, through the liberality of Constantine. And if it be true what one relates, that about this time, when the church began to be enriched with means, there came a voice from heaven (I dare boldly say he that first wrote it never heard it, being a modern author^c) saying, "Now is "poison poured down into the church:" yet is there no danger of death thereby, seeing lately so strong an antidote hath been given against it. Nor do we meet with any particular bounty conferred by Constantine or Helen his mother on Britain, their native country, otherwise than as it shared now in the general happiness of all Christendom. The reason might be this; That her devotion most moved eastward towards Jerusalem, and he was principally employed far off at Constantinople, whither he had removed the seat of the empire, for the more conveniency in the midst of his dominions. An empire herein unhappy, that as it was too vast for one to manage it entirely, so it was too little for two to govern it jointly, as in after-ages did appear.

A.D. 313. 20. And now just ten years after the death of St. Alban, a stately church was erected there and dedicated to his memory; as also the history of Winchester reporteth^d, that then their church first

^c John Nauclerus president of Tubing university, anno 1500. [This information Fuller has derived from John Bale, (Scriptor. p. 34.), who, as is frequently the case with him, has misrepresented the passage. The words of Nauclerus are as follows: "Quod vero donante "Constantino temporalia ec-

"clesiæ Romanæ, vox audita
"refertur hujusmodi, hodie
"venenum ecclesiæ est immia-
"sum, non bene quadrat; nam
"ecclesia temporalia ante Con-
"stantinum." Chronic. ii.
p. 603. ed. 1564.]

^d [MS. quoted by Usher, ib. p. 85. See also Mat. of Westminster in an. 313.]

founded by king Lucius, and since destroyed, was A.D. 313.
 built anew, and monks (as they say) placed in it.
 But the most avouchable evidence of Christianity
 flourishing in this island in this age, is produced
 from the

Bishops representing Britain in the council of

- i. ARLES in France, called to take cognizance of the A.D. 314.
 cause of the Donatists; where appeared for the The ap-
 pearance of
 the British
 in foreign
 councils.
 British
 1. Eborius bishop of York^e.
 2. Restitutus bishop of London.
 3. Adelfius bishop of the city called the colony
 of London^f, which some count Colchester,
 and others Maldon, in Essex.
 4. Sacerdos a priest, both by his proper } Both of
 name and office. } the last
 place.
 5. Arminius a deacon.
- ii. NICE in Bithynia, summoned to suppress Arianism, A.D. 325.
 and establishing an uniformity of the observation
 of Easter; to which agreed those of the church
κατὰ Βρεττανίας^g.
- iii. SARDIS in Thracia, called by Constantius and Con- A.D. 347.
 stans, sons to Constantine the Great; where the
 bishops of Britain concurred with the rest to con-
 demn the Arians and acquit Athanasius^h.

^e See the several subscrip-
 tions at the end of this council
 in Binnius. [Concil. i. 1430.
 ed. Labbe 1671.]

^f [Of this city called Colonia
 Londinensium, and the council
 of Arles, see Stillingfleet's An-
 tiq. of the British Churches,
 p. 75.]

^g Eusebius de vita Constant.
 iii. 19.

^h Athanasius in the begin-
 ning of his second apology
 against the Arians, [i. p. 123.
 ed. 1698. It is doubtful
 whether the British bishops
 were present at the council of
 Sardis. Athanasius states

A.D. 359. iv. ARIMINUM on the Adriatic sea in Italy, a synod convoked by Constantius the emperor¹.

In this last council it is remarkable, that whereas the emperor ordered that provisions (and those very plentiful) of diet should be bestowed on the bishops there assembled, yet those of Aquitan, France, and Britain, preferred rather to live on their proper cost, than to be a burden to the public treasury^k. Only three British bishops, necessitated for want of maintenance, received the emperor's allowance: the refusal of the former, having enough of their own, being an act full of praise, as the latter's accepting a salary to relieve their want, a deed free from censure. Collect we hence, 1. That there were many British bishops in this council, though their names and number are not particularly recorded. 2. That the generality of British bishops had in this age plentiful maintenance, who could subsist of themselves so far off in a foreign country: whereas lately in the council of Trent many Italian bishops, though in a manner still at home, could not live without public contribution. But there was good reason why the British were loath to accept the emperor's allowance, though otherwise it had been neither manners nor discretion for prelates to refuse a prince's proffer, because as ¹Daniel and the children of the captivity preferred their pulse before the fare of king Nebu-

merely that they, in conjunction with others, subscribed the decrees in his favour: τοῖς τε κριθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνεψηφίσαντο. See however Usher, p. 105.]

¹ [Of this council, and the

conduct of the British bishops there present, see Usher's Antiq. p. 105, and Stillingfleet, ib. p. 176.]

^k Sulpitius Severus, Hist. Sacra, [ii. 56.]

¹ Dan. i. 8.

chadnezzar, for fear they should be defiled with his A.D. 359.
 (though princely, yet) pagan diet, so these bishops did justly suspect, that Constantius the emperor, being an Arian, had a design to bribe their judgments by their palates, and by his bounty to buy their suffrages to favour his opinions. In very deed this synod is justly taxed, not that it did bend, but was bowed to Arianism, and being overborne by the emperor, did countenance his poisonous positions^m.

21. Hitherto the church in Britain continued A.D. 360.
 sound and orthodox, in no degree tainted with Britain be-
ginneth to
be tainted
with Arian-
ism.
 Arianism; which gave the occasion to St. Hilary in his epistle to his brethren and fellow-bishops of Germany and Britain, &c., though he himself was in Phrygia in banishment, to solace his soul with the consideration of the purity and soundness of religion in their countriesⁿ. But now, alas! the gangrene of that heresy began to spread itself into this island; so that what the Jews of Thessalonica said unjustly of St. Paul and his followers, the Britons might too truly affirm of Arius and his adherents, *These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also*^o. Hear how sadly Gildas complaineth; *Mansit namque hæc Christi capitis membrorumque consonantia suavis, donec Arriana perfidia atrox, ceu anguis transmarina nobis evomens venena, fratres in unum habitantes exitiabiliter faceret sejungi*, &c.^p So that the words of Athanasius, *totus mundus Arrianizat*, were true also of this peculiar or divided world of Britain. Naturalists dispute how wolves had their

^m Episcopi in Arianum dogma fuerant subacti, opprimente Constantio. Facundus, de tribus Capitulis, v. [3. p. 72. ed. 1679.]

ⁿ Dedicating unto them his book De Synodis.

^o Acts xvii. 6.

^p [Hist. chap. ix. Bede i. 8.]

A. D. 360. first being in Britain; it being improbable that merchants would bring any such noxious vermin over in their ships, and impossible that of themselves they should swim over the sea: (which hath prevailed so far with some, as to conceive this, now an island, originally annexed to the continent:) but here the query may be propounded, how these heretics (*mystical wolves not sparing the flock*^q) first entered into this island. And indeed we meet neither with their names, nor manner of transportation hither, but only with the cursed fruit of their labours. And it is observable, that immediately after that this kingdom was infected with Arianism, the pagan Picts and Scots out of the north made a general and desperate invasion of it^r. It being just with God, when his vineyard beginneth to bring forth wild grapes, then to let loose the wild boar, to take his full and free repast upon it^s.

A. D. 379.
Maximus
usurping
the empire
expelleth
the Scots
out of Bri-
tain.

22. In this woeful condition, vain were the complaints of the oppressed Britons for assistance unto Gratian and Valentinian the Roman emperors, who, other ways employed, neglected to send them succour. This gave occasion to Maximus, a Spaniard by birth^t, (though accounted born in this island by

^q Acts xx. 29.

^r Ammianus Marcellinus in the beginning of his twentieth book maketh this eruption to happen anno 360, which continued many years after. [See Usher, ib. 306, 307.]

^s [Of this charge of Arianism thus brought against the early British church, see Stillingfleet, ib. p. 146. The whole imputation rests however upon

the obscure passage of Gildas quoted in the text, which has been transcribed by Bede into his Ecclesiastical History. Usher attributes the diffusion of Arianism into this part of the world to Valentinian, who in the year 382 declared himself a patron of the Arian heresy.]

^t Zosim. Histor. [iv. 35, or p. 247. ed. Oxon. 1679.]

our homebred authors^u), to be chosen emperor of A.D. 381 the west of Europe by a predominant faction in his army, who for a time valiantly resisted the Scots and Picts, which cruelly invaded and infested the south of Britain. For these nations were invincible, whilst, like two arms of the same body, they assisted each other; but when the Picts (the right arm being most strong and active) suffered themselves to be quietly bound up by the peace concluded, the Scots^v, as their own authors confess^x, were quickly conquered and dispersed. But Maximus, whose main design was not to defend Britain from enemies, but confirm himself in the empire, sailed over with the flower of the British nation into France; where, having conquered the natives in Armorica, he bestowed the whole country upon his soldiers, from them named at this day Little Britain^y.

23. But Ireland will nowadays allow that name unto it, pleading itself to be anciently called the Lesser Britain, in authentic authors^z: and therefore this French Britain must be contented to bear that name, with the difference of the third brother, except any will more properly say, that the French

A.D. 383
Britain in
France
when con-
quered, an
why so
called.

^u Gildas, [Hist. chap. x. p. 4. But it is questionable whether Gildas means that he was born in Britain, or commenced, as was really the fact, his usurpation in this island.] H. Hunting. Hist. [i. p. 176 b. ed. 1596.] Galfrid. Monmouth, [fol. 37.] and before the three latter, Ethelwerdus, Chron. i. [p. 474. ed. 1596. Of Maximus, see Usher, ib. 106.]

^v [It is certainly more than probable that the Scots here mentioned were natives of Ire-

land, the cradle of what is now called Scotland. See Usher, ib. 310.]

^x John Fordun, Scoto-Chronic. ii. 54.

^y [See Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis Regum, f. 3. ed. 1596.]

^z Ptolemy calls it μικρά Βρεττανία, ii. 6. p. 31. ed. Græc. [I cannot find this passage in Ptolemy. Gale has collected the passages of this writer, which relate to England and Ireland, in his Scriptor. i. p. 735 sq.]

A.D. 383. Britain is the daughter of our Britain, which infant, when she asks her mother blessing, doth not jabber so strangely, but that she is perfectly understood by her parent. Although one will hardly believe what is generally reported, namely, that these French Britons were so ambitious to preserve their native language, that, marrying French women, they cut out their wives' tongues, for fear they should infect their children's speech with a mixture of French words^a. Here the Britons lived, and though they had pawned their former wives and children at home, they had neither the honesty nor affection to return thither to redeem the pledges left behind them. Strange that they should so soon forget their native soil! But as the lodestone, when it is rubbed over with the juice of onions, forgetteth its property to draw iron any longer, so though we allow an attractive virtue in one's own country, yet it loseth that alluring quality, when the said place of one's birth is steeped in a sad and sorrowful condition, as the state of Britain stood at this present. And therefore these travellers, having found a new habitation nearer the sun, and further from suffering, there quietly set up their rest.

A.D. 388. ^{Maximus slain in his march towards Italy.} 24. But not long after, Maximus marching towards Italy, was overcome and killed at Aquilegia^b. A prince not unworthy of his great name, had he been lifted up to the throne by a regular election, and not tossed up to the same in a tumultuous

^a Heylin's *Geogr.* in the description of France, [p. 93. ed. 1627. Such is the statement of Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* ch. xxiii.]

^b [Florence of Worcester,

who is generally very accurate in his chronology, refers the death of Maximus to the year 386, but Fuller follows Usher, *ib.* p. 310.]

manner. This makes St. Ambrose^c, Gildas, and other authors^d violently to inveigh against his memory, notwithstanding his many most honourable achievements. This difference we may observe betwixt bastards and usurpers: the former, if proving eminent, are much bemoaned, because merely passive in the blemish of their birth; whilst usurpers, though behaving themselves never so gallantly, never gain general good-will, because actually evil in their original, as it fared with Maximus, who, by good using, could never make reparation for his bad getting of the empire. Surely Britain had cause to curse him for draining it of her men and munition; so leaving it a trunk of a commonwealth, without head or hands, wisdom or valour, effectually to advise or execute any thing in its own defence^e; all whose strength consisted in multitudes of people,

^c Orat. de obitu Theodosii. [§. 39. II. p. 1209. ed. 1690.]

^d Sulpitius Severus, Dialog. II. 7.

^e [The effect of these ambitious designs of Maximus, and of Constantius, who in the year 406 followed the same course, is strikingly told by William of Malmesbury. "Maximus homo aptus imperio si non contra fidem ad tyrannidem anhelasset, quasi ab exercitu impulsus purpuram induit, statimque in Galliam transitum parans, ex provincia omnem pene militem abrasit. Constantinus etiam quidam non multo post ibidem spe nominis imperator allectus, quicquid residuum erat militaris roboris exhaust. Sed alter a Theodosio,

"alter ab Honorio interfecti, rebus humanis ludibrio fuerunt. Copiarum quæ illos ad bellum secutæ fuerant, pars occisa, pars post fugam ad superiores Brittones concessit. Ita cum tyranni nullum in agris præter semibaros, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos reliquissent, Britannia omni patrocinio militaris vigoris viduata, omni artium exercitio inanita, conterminarum gentium inhiationi diu obnoxia fuit," f. 3. See also Bede Eccl. Hist. i. 11. The *superiores Britannos* are the natives of Brittany. For Malmesbury uses the term *superiores* to distinguish the natives of the continent from this island.]

A.D. 388. where number was not so great a benefit as disorder was a burden: which encouraged the Picts (the truce expired) to harass all the land with fire and sword. The larger prosecution whereof we leave to the chronicles of the state, only touching it here by way of excuse for the briefness and barrenness of our ecclesiastical history, the sadness of the commonwealth being a just plea for the silence of the church.

A.D. 390.
Frequent
pilgrimages
of the Bri-
tons to Je-
rusalem
whilst St.
Keby lived
quietly in
Anglesey.

25. We conclude this century when we have told the reader, that about this time the fathers tell us^f how pilgrimages of the Britons began to be frequent as far as Jerusalem, there not only to visit Christ's sepulchre, but also to behold Simon Stilita a pious man, and Melania a devout woman, both residing in Syria, and at this time eminent for sanctity^g. Perchance discontentment mingled with devotion moved the Britons to so long a journey, conceiving themselves, because of their present troubles at home, more safe any where else than in their own country. As for those Britons who in this age were zealous asserters of the purity of religion against the poison of Arianism, amongst them we find St. Keby, a principal champion, son to Salomon duke of Cornwall, scholar to St. Hilary bishop of Poitiers in France, with whom he lived 50 years, and by whom, being made bishop, he returned first to St. David's, afterwards into Ireland, and at last fixed himself in the isle of Anglesey. So pious a man, that he might

^f Hieronymus [in Epist. Paul. et Eust. ad Marcel. tom. I. p. 155. ep. 17. ed. Paris. 1609.] Palladius Galata, Hist. Lausiæ. c. 119. [in t. XIII.

1033. Bib. Magnæ Vet. Patrum. ed. de la Bigne, 1654.]

^g [See Usher, ib. 109, 408, 411.]

seem to have communicated sanctity to the place, A.D. 390.
being a promontory into the sea, called from him
Holyhead; (but in Welsh *Caer-guiby* :) as in the same
island, the memory of his master is preserved in
Hilary-point; where both shall be remembered, as
long as there be either waves to assault the shore, or
rocks to resist them.

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

TO THOMAS BIDE OF LONDON, ESQ.^f

Amongst your many good qualities, I have particularly observed your judicious delight in the mathematics. Seeing therefore this century hath so much of the surveyor therein, being employed in the exact dividing of the English shires betwixt the seven Saxon kingdoms, the proportions herein are by me submitted to your censure and approbation.

A. D. 401.

Pelagius a
Briton by
birth.



OW the Arian heresy, by God's providence and good men's diligence, was in some measure suppressed, when the unwearied malice of Satan (who never leaveth off, though often changeth his ways to seduce souls) brought in a worse, because more plausible, heresy of Pelagianism^g. For every man is born a Pelagian, naturally proud of his power, and needeth little art to teach him to think well of himself. This Pelagius was a Briton by birth, (as we take no delight to confess it, so we will tell no lie to deny it,) as some say called Morgan^h, that is in Welsh, "near the sea," (and well had it been for the Christian world if he had been nearer the sea, and served therein as the Egyptians served the Hebrew males,) being to the same sense

^f [Arms. Or, on a pile engrailed, az. three anchors of the field. B.]

^g [Bede E. H. i. 10.]

^h Usher, de Brit. Ecc. Prim. p. 207=112. et Hen. Spelman in Concil. i. 46. [Wilkins' Concil. IV. 712.]

called in Latin Pelagius. Let no foreigner insult on A.D. 401. the infelicity of our land in bearing this monster; but consider first, if his excellent natural parts, and eminent acquired learning might be separated from his dangerous doctrine, no nation need be ashamed to acknowledge him. Secondly, Britain did but breed Pelagius, Pelagius himself bred his heresy, and in foreign parts where he travelled, France, Syria, Egypt, Rome itself, if not first invented, much improved his pestilent opinions. Lastly, as our island is to be pitied for breeding the person, so she is to be praised for opposing the errors of Pelagius. Thus the best father cannot forbid the worst son from being his child, but may debar him from being his heir, affording no favour to countenance his badness.

2. It is memorable what one relatesⁱ, that the Pelagius no doctor of Cambridge, but a monk of Banchor. same day whereon Pelagius was born in Britain, St. Augustine was also born in Afric; divine providence so disposing it, that the poison and the antidote should be twins in a manner, in respect of the same time. To pass from the birth to the breeding of Pelagius; John Cajus^k, who observes eight solemn destructions of Cambridge before the conquest, imputeth that which was the third in order to Pelagius; who being a student there, and having his doctrine opposed by the orthodox divines, cruelly caused the overthrow and desolation of all the university. But we hope it will be accounted no point of Pelagianism for us thus far to improve our free-will, as to refuse to give credit hereunto till better authority be produced. And yet this sounds much to the commendation of Cambridge, that, like a pure

ⁱ Dempster, Hist. Scot. l. xv. §. 1012. ^k Hist. Cantab. p. 28.

A.D. 401. crystal glass, it would prefer rather to fly a pieces and be dissolved, than to endure poison put into it, according to the character which John Lidgate, a wit of those times, gave of the university :

Of heresy Cambridge bare never blame¹.

More true it is that Pelagius was bred in the monastery of Banchor, in that part of Flintshire which at this day is a separatist from the rest, where he lived with two thousand monks, industrious in their callings, whose hands were the only benefactors for their bellies; abbey labourers, not abbey lubbers, like their successors in after-ages, who, living in laziness, abused the bounty of their patrons to riot and excess.

The principal errors of Pelagius.

3. Infinite are the deductions and derived consequences of Pelagius his errors.

These are the main :

1. That a man might be saved without God's grace by his own merits and freewill.

2. That infants were born without original sin, and were as innocent as Adam before his fall.

3. That they were baptized not to be freed from sin, but thereby to be adopted into the kingdom of God.

4. That Adam died not by reason of his sin, but by the condition of nature; and that he should have died albeit he had not sinned.

Here to recount the learned works of fathers written, their pious sermons preached, passionate epistles sent, private conferences entertained, public disputations held, provincial synods summoned,

¹ In his poem of Cambridge, [quoted in Twyne's *Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* p. 14.]

general councils called, wholesome canons made to A. D. 401. confute and condemn these opinions, under the name of Pelagius, or his scholar Cœlestius, would amount to a volume fitter for a porter's back to bear, than a scholar's brains to peruse. I decline the employment, both as over painful, and nothing proper to our business in hand, fearing to cut my fingers if I put my sickle into other men's corn, these things being transacted beyond the seas, and not belonging to the British history. The rather, because it cannot be proved that Pelagius in person ever dispersed his poison in this island, but ranging abroad, (perchance because this false prophet counted himself *without honour in his own country*,) had his emissaries here, and principally Agricola, the son of Severian a bishop^m.

4. It is incredible how speedily and generally the infection spread by his preaching, advantaged A. D. 420. no doubt by the ignorance and laziness of the British bishops in those days, none of the deepest divines or ^{French bishops sent for to suppress Pelagianism in Britain.}

^m Bede E. H. i. 17. [Pelagius first endeavoured to pave the way for his heresy in his letter to Paulinus bishop of Nola in the year 405. (Usher, *ib.* p. 111.) Pelagius was dead by the year 420 (*Id.* p. 166.), but his heresy was promoted, especially in the west, by his disciples Cœlestius and Julianus, and in this island by Agricola (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 17.) The dissemination of these errors by Agricola is referred by Florence of Worcester to the year 429, in which year he also places the mission of Germanus and Lupus, and their successful

efforts in restoring this island to its orthodox and primitive faith. From the words of Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 17, it clearly appears that the Pelagian heresy was checked in its early stage in this island, which renders the account of the rapid success of Germanus and Lupus the more probable, though scarcely consistent with the expression of some writers, who have represented it as if the whole island had been infected by Pelagianism. See those quoted by Usher, *ib.* 172.]

A.D. 420. most learned clerks, as having little care, and less comfort to study, living in a distracted state; and those that feel practical discords will have little joy to busy themselves with controversial dignity. However, herein their discretion is to be commended, that finding their own forces too feeble to encounter so great a foe, they craved the assistance of foreigners out of France, and sent for Germane, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, not being of their envious and proud disposition, who had rather suffer a good cause to fall, than to borrow supporters to hold it up, lest thereby they disgrace themselves, confessing their own insufficiency, and preferring the ability of others. The two bishops cheerfully embraced the employment, and undertook the journey, no whit discouraged with the length of the way, danger of the sea, and badness of the winter; seeing all weather is fair to a willing mind, and opportunity to do good is the greatest preferment which a humble heart doth desire. This Lupus was brother to Vincentius Lirinensisⁿ, husband to Pimeniola, the sister of Hilary, archbishop of Arles^o; one of such learning and sanctity, that a grave author of those times styleth him a father of fathers, and bishop of bishops, yea, another James of that age^p. And yet in this employment he was but a second to Germane the principal; and both of them, like Paul and Barnabas, jointly advanced the design^q.

ⁿ Eucherius de laude Eremi
ad Hilarium, [§. 42. T. vi. 866.
Bib. Max. Patr. Lugd. 1677.]

^o Usher de Brit. Eccl. Primord. p. 325 = 175.

^p Sidonius [vi. ep. i. p. 155.

ed. Sirmondi 1652.]

^q [They were sent over by
pope Celestine at the instigation
of Palladius Diaconus.
Flor. Wigorn. ib.]

5. Coming into Britain, with their constant labours A. D. 429 they confirmed the orthodox, and reclaimed the erro- Germanus and Lupus neous, preaching openly in fields and highways^r. come over and preach in Britain As the king's presence makes a court, so theirs did a church, of any place; their congregation being bounded with no other walls than the preacher's voice, and extending as far as he could intelligibly be heard. As for their formal disputation with the Pelagian doctors, take it from the pen of Bede and mouth of Stapleton translating him^s.

6. "The authours and head professors of hereticall Their dis- " error lay lurking all this while, and like the wicked putation with the " sprites, much spighted to see the people daily to fall Pelagian " from them. At length, after long advisement doctors. " used, they taketh upon them to try the matter by " open disputation; which being agreed upon, they " come forth richly appointed, gorgeously apparaled, " accompanied with a number of flattering favours, " having leifer^t to commit their cause to open dis- " puting, then to seem to the people, whom they " had subverted, to have nothing to say in defence " thereof. Thether resorted a great multitude of " people with their wives and childeren. The people " was present both to see and judge the matter: the " parties there were farre unleke of condition. In the " one side was the Faith, on the other man's Pre- " sumption; on the one side Meeknesse, on the other " Pride; on the one side Pelagius, on the other " Christ. First of all the blessed priest Germanus

^r Per trivia, per rura, [per devia.] [Bede, E. H. ib.]

^s [Stapleton's Translation of Bede, p. 25, b. ed. 1565.]

^t Not presuming to alter any

of Stapleton's words, take it with all the printer's faults, done probably by an outlandish press.

A.D. 429. “and Lupus gave their adversaries leave to speak, “ which vainly occupied both the time and eares of “ the people with naked words. But after the “ reverend Bishops poored out their flowing words, “ confirmed with scriptures out of the Gospels and “ Apostles, they joyned with their own words the “ words of God ; and after they had said their own “ mind, they read other men’s minds upon the same. “ Thus the vanite of hereticks is convicted, and false- “ hed is confuted ; so that at every objection they “ were forced in effect to confesse their errour, not “ being able to answerc them. The people had “ much to do to keep their hands from them, yet “ shewed their judgement by their clamours.”

Many re-
markables
in this dis-
putation.

7. A conference every way admirable. First, in the opponents, who came forth gallantly, as antedating the conquest, and bringing the spoils of their victory with them. But gay clothes are no armour for a combat. Secondly, in the defendants of the truth, appealing to no unwritten traditions, but to the scriptures of the Gospels and Apostles ; because the point of grace controverted appeared most plainly in the New Testament. Thirdly, in the auditors, or, as they are called, the judges, men, women, and children. Wonder not at this feminine auditory, seeing they were as capable of the antidote as of the poison : and no doubt the Pelagians had formerly (as other heretics) *crept into houses to seduce silly women*^t, and therefore now the plaster must be as broad as the sore. As for children, we know who it was that said, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, &c.*^u But here,

^t 2 Tim. iii. 6.

^u Matt. xix. 14. In Latin, not *pueri*, but *liberi*.

though called *children* in relation to their parents, A.D. 425 they might be in good age and capacity of understanding; or if they were little ones indeed, flocking out of fashion in a general concourse to see these men speak divine mysteries, they could not hereafter, when grown old, date their remembrance from a more remarkable epoch. See we here that in these times the laity were so well acquainted with God's word, that they could competently judge what was or was not spoken in proportion thereunto. Lastly and chiefly, in the success of this conference. For though generally such public disputations do make more noise than take effect, (because the obstinate maintainers of error come with their tongues tipt with clamorousness, as their proselyte auditors do with ears stopped with prejudice,) yet this meeting, by God's blessing, was marvellously powerful to establish and convert the people. But here a main difficulty is by authors left wholly untouched, namely, in what language this conference was entertained and managed, that Germanus and Lupus, two French bishops, and foreigners, could both speak with fluency, and be understood with facility. Perchance the ancient Gauls in France, whence these bishops came, spake still (as they did anciently) one and the selfsame tongue with the Britons, differing rather in dialect than language^v; or, which is more probable, both France and Britain, remaining as yet Roman provinces, spake a coarse vulgar Latin, though invaded with a mixture of many base words, as

^v [That such was the fact, at all events in the Saxon times, is plain; for otherwise St. Augustine, when on his mission

to this island, would scarcely have taken his interpreters from France. See Bede, E. H. i. 25.]

A. D. 429. Britain especially, now or near this time, was infested with foreign barbarous nations.

St. Alban's
the place of
the con-
ference.

8. This conference was held at St. Alban's, even where at this day a small chapel is extant to the honour of St. German, though Hector Boëthius^w assigns London the place; adding moreover, that such obstinate Pelagians as would not be reclaimed, were, for their contumacy, burnt by the king's officers. But it will be hard to find any spark of fire in Britain or elsewhere, employed on heretics in this age. We may observe, that the aforesaid Hector Boëthius and Polydore Virgil, (writing the chronicles, the one of Scotland, the other of England, at the same time,) as they bear the poetical names of two sons of Priamus, so they take to themselves much liberty of fancy and fiction in their several histories.

Germanus
marcheth
against the
pagan Picts
and Saxons.

9. Not long after, the aid of Germanus and Lupus was implored, and employed an hundred miles off in another service, against the pagan Picts and Saxons. Here we meet with the first mention of Saxons, being some straggling volunteers of that nation, coming over to pillage here of their own accord, not many years before they were solemnly invited hither under Horsus and Hengistus, their generals. Germanus, after the Lent well spent, in the fasting of their bodies and feasting of their souls, (for the people had daily sermons^x,) and the solemnity of Easter festival duly celebrated, wherein he christened multitudes of pagan converts in the river Alen^y, marched with an army of them, whilst their baptismal water was scarce wiped from their bodies,

^w Scot. Hist. lib. viii. [p. 145, b.]

^x Bede, E. H. i. 20.

^y [In Flintshire.]

against the aforesaid enemies, whom he found in the north-east of Wales. Here the pious bishop, turning politic engineer, chose a place of advantage, being a hollow dale surrounded with hills, near the village called at this day by the English Mold, by the British Guid-cruc, in Flintshire, where the field at this day retains the name of Maes Garmon^y, or German's Field; the more remarkable, because it hath escaped (as few of this note and nature) the exact observation of master Camden^z. A. D. 429.

10. Here Germanus placed his men in ambush, with instructions, that at a signal given they should all shout Hallelujah three times with all their might, which was done accordingly. The pagans were surprised with the suddenness and loudness of such a sound, much multiplied by the advantage of the

^y Usher de Brit. Ecc. Primord. p. 333=179.

^z [From the absence of authentic materials, this portion of British history is involved in hopeless confusion. Nennius, one of the principal authorities, (for Bede has given only a cursory account of the period,) is so completely corrupted and interpolated, his chronology so confused, as to defy all attempts at arrangement, and furnish no clue for reducing the contradictory statements of our chroniclers into harmony and consistency. By Nennius the reign of Vortigern is placed about the year 440 (Hist. Brit. xxviii.), the reception of Hengist and Horsa in 447, and the mission of Germanus about the same period. But according to Bede, the mission of Germanus took

place some years before the arrival of the Saxons, (Eccl. Hist. i. 17.), probably in 429 (see Flor. Wigorn. in 429,) and the arrival of the Saxons in 450 (Eccl. Hist. i. 15. Flor. Wigorn. in 450); and yet Bede speaks of the defeat of the combined forces (Saxones Pictique—junctis viribus) of the Picts and the Saxons by Germanus in this first mission, and not as if these Saxons were, as Fuller has represented, "some straggling volunteers." The authority of later chroniclers upon this topic is of little value, their narratives though sometimes woven together with much seeming consistency, (such as Matthew of Westminster,) having been derived from the legendary tales of Geoffry of Monmouth.]

A victory
gotten not
by shooting,
but shout-
ing.

A.D. 429. echo, whereby their fear brought in a false list of their enemies' number; and rather trusting their ears than their eyes, they reckoned their foes by the increase of the noise rebounded unto them; and then allowing two hands for every mouth, how vast was their army! But besides the concavity of the valleys improving the sound, God sent a hollowness into the hearts of the pagans, so that their apprehensions added to their ears, and cowardice often resounded the same shout in their breasts, till beaten with the reverberation thereof, without striking a stroke, they confusedly ran away, and many were drowned for speed in the river Alen, lately the Christians' font, now the pagans' grave. Thus a bloodless victory was gotten, without sword drawn, consisting of no fight, but a fright and a flight; and that hallelujah, the song of the saints after conquest achieved^a, was here the forerunner and procurer of victory. So good a grace it is to be said both before and after a battle. Gregory the Great (a grave author) in his Comment upon Job^b, makes mention of this victory, occasioned on those words, *Can any understand the noise of his tabernacle?*

A.D. 430.
St. Alban's
in Hert-
fordshire,
Cologne,
Ely, and
Osell, pre-
tend to the
whole body
of St. Al-
ban.

11. Germanus, now twice a conqueror, of Pelagians and pagans, prepares for his return, after first he had caused the tomb of St. Alban to be opened, and therein deposited the relics of many saints which he brought over with him, conceiving it fit (as he said) that their corpses should sleep in the same grave, whose souls rested in the same heaven^c. In lieu of what he left behind him, exchange is no robbery,

^a Rev. xix. 1.

Gregory quoted by Usher,

^b Chap. xxxvi. 29, 30. 179.]

[See the other passages of St. ^c [Bede, E. H. i. 18.]

he carried along with him some of St. Alban's dust, A.D. 430. wherein spots of the martyr's blood were as fair and fresh as if shed but yesterday^d. But what most concerns St. Alban's monks to stickle in, some report German to have carried the body of Alban to Rome, whence some hundred years after, the empress to Otho the Second brought it to Cologne, where, at this day, they maintain his uncorrupted body to be enshrined^e; the monks of Ely in Cambridgeshire pretending to the same, as also do those of Ottonium or Osell in Denmark. Thus, as Mettus Fuffetius the Roman was drawn alive by horses four ways, like violence is offered to the dead body of Alban, plucked to four several places by importunate competitors; only with this difference, that the former was mangled into quarters, whereas here each place pretends to have him whole and entire, not abating one hair of his beard^f: nor know I how to reconcile them, except any of them dare say, though without show of probability, that as the river in Paradise went out of Eden, *from whence it was parted, and became into four heads*^g, Alban in like manner, when dead, had the same quality, of one to be multiplied into four bodies.

12. Now after Germanus and Lupus were returned home into their native country, Pelagianism began to sprout again in Britain^h. An accident not so strange to him that considers how quickly an error much of kin thereunto grew up amongst the Galatians pre-

^d [See the authorities quoted in Usher, 176.] [Surius, ib.]

^e Surius, vita Sanct. Junii

22. [T. iii. 233. ed. 1581.]

^f "Caput enim cum barba,"

^g Gen. ii. 10.

^h [Bede, Eccl. Hist. i. 21.]

Usher, ib. 204.]

A.D. 430. sently on Paul's departure. *I marvel (said he) that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospelⁱ.* St. Paul's marvelling may make us marvel the less, seeing that wonder which hath a precedent is not so great a wonder. Here we may sadly behold the great proneness of men to go astray, whose hearts by nature cold in goodness, will burn no longer than

A.D. 449. they are blown. To suppress this heresy, Germanus is solicited to make a second voyage into Britain, which he did accordingly, accompanied with his partner Severus, because Lupus his former companion was otherwise employed. Hereupon a prime poet^k of his age makes this apostrophe unto St. German :

Tuque O, cui toto discretos orbe Britannos
Bis penetrare datum, bis intima cernere magni
Monstra maris :

O thou that twice pierced Britain, cut asunder
From the whole world, twice didst survey the wonder
Of monstrous seas.

The same success still followed, and this conqueror, who formerly had broken and scattered the main body of the Pelagians, now routed the remnant, which began to rally and make head again^l.

Pelagian-
ism and
king Vor-
tigern's in-
cestuous
marriage
condemned
in a synod.

13. He also called a synod, wherein those damnable doctrines were condemned^m; as also the incestuous marriage of Vortigern king of Britain, (a wicked prince, in whom all the dregs of his vicious ancestors were settled,) who had took his own

ⁱ Gal. i. 6.

^k Ericus Antissiodorensis in
vita S. Germani, [iv. 3. §. 118.
Acta SS. die 21 Julii, T. vii.

p. 243. ed. Bolland.]

^l Bede, E. H. i. 21.

^m Mat. West. in anno 449.

daughter to wifeⁿ. And yet of this unlawful copulation a pious son, St. Faustus, was born; to shew that no crossbar of bastardy, though doubled with incest, can bolt grace out of that heart wherein God will have it to enter. Germanus having settled Britain in good order, went back to his own country, where presently upon his return he died, as God useth to send his servants to bed when they have done all their work: and by God's blessing on his endeavours, that heresy was so cut down in Britain, that it never generally grew up again^o. A.D. 449.

14. Meantime the south of this island was in a woeful condition, caused by the daily incursions of the Picts. As for the Picts' wall built to restrain them, it being a better limit than fortification, served rather to define than defend the Roman empire; and useless is the strongest wall of stone when it hath stocks only upon it: such was the sottish laziness of the Britons to man it, a nation at this time

In vain the Britons petition to the Roman emperor for help against the Picts.

ⁿ Nennius, c. [xxxviii. Gildas, p. 11. Usher, ib. 206.]

^o [St. Germanus died at Ravenna, on a mission to Aetius in behalf of the people of Brittany (Bede, E. H. i. 21.) It appears that he did not leave this island till the latter years of his life. There are two calculations respecting the date of his arrival and stay in the island; the first by Prosper, from the year 429 to 435; the other, according to Constantius, who is followed by Bede, from the year 446 to 453. Both are however involved in inextricable difficulties. See Smith's Bede, i. 22. n.]

Bede's narrative of the mission and life of Germanus is

taken verbally from a life of that saint written by Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, who flourished about the year 480. See the Acta Sanctorum, and Surius, Act. SS. ad diem Julii 31. Another life of Germanus, written in verse by Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, who flourished about the year 560, has been published, by Mabillon in the Acta SS. Bened. Sæc. i. p. 319, and in the Acta SS. T. vi. Maii 27. p. 778, and in Surius for the same day. It is not a little strange that so judicious a writer as Malmsbury should have omitted all notice whatever of Germanus and Lupus.]

A.D. 449. given over to all manner of sin, insomuch as Gildas their countryman calls them *ætatis atramentum*, “the ink of the age^p.” And though God did daily correct them with inroads of pagans, yet, like restive horses, they went the worse for beating. And now the land being exhausted of the flower of her chivalry, (transported and disposed in Roman garrisons as far as Judæa and Egypt itself^q,) could not make good her ground against the Picts, and was fain to request first Theodosius the younger, then Valentinian, the third Roman emperor, (whose homagers the British kings were until this time,) for their assistance. They dispatch petition after petition, embassy on embassy, representing their woeful estate. Now the barbarians beat them to the sea, the sea repelled them to the barbarians; and thus banded betwixt death and death, they must either be killed or drowned. They enforced their request for aid with much earnestness and importunity; all in vain, seeing whisperings and hollowings are alike to a deaf ear, and no answer was returned. Had they been as careful in bemoaning their sins to God, as clamorous to declare their sufferings to the Roman emperor, their requests in heaven had been as graciously received, as their petitions on earth were carelessly rejected^r.

^p In prologo libri de Excid. Brit. [p. 5. ed. Gale.]

^q See Notitia Provinciarum, [fol. Basil. 1552.]

^r [Their first embassy to Theodosius was probably in 422, and to Valentinian in 446. See Usher, ib. 313 sq. Flor. Wigorn. an. 446. At both applications the Britons received assistance; on the lat-

ter occasion, after driving the Picts out of the kingdom, the Romans built for them a turf wall (probably similar to that which the Romans used for fortifying their camps) from Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne, in the place where the ancient wall of Severus stood. This proved ineffectual; assistance was again de-

15. What might be the cause of this neglect? ^{A. D. 4}
 Had the imperial crown so many flowers that it ^{True re}
 might afford to scatter some of them? Was Britain ^{sons wh}
 grown inconsiderable, formerly worth the conquering, ^{the Rom}
 not now worth the keeping? or was it because they ^{neglecte}
 conceived the Britons need not so much as was ^{send aid}
 pretended; and aid is an alms ill-bestowed on those ^{the Brit}
 beggars who are lame of laziness, and will not work
 for their living? Or was the service accounted despe-
 rate; and no wise physician will willingly undertake
 a disease which he conceives incurable. The plain
 truth is, the Roman empire, now grown ruinous,
 could not repair its out-rooms, and was fain to let
 them fall down to maintain the rest; and like
 fencers, receiving a blow on their leg to save their
 head, exposed the remote countries of Spain, France,
 and Britain, to the spoil of pagans, to secure the
 eastern countries near Constantinople, the seat of the
 empire.

16. Here Vortigern, forsaken of God and man, ^{The suc}
 and left to himself, (malice could not wish him a ^{success}
 worse adviser,) resolves on a desperate project, to call ^{the pag}
 in the pagan Saxons out of Germany for his assist- ^{Saxons}
 ance, under Horsus and Hengistus their captains^s. ^{vited by}
^{king V.}
^{gern in}
^{Britain}
 Over they come at first but in three great ships, (a
 small earnest will serve to bind a great bargain,) first
 possessing the island of Thanet in Kent; but following

manded from the Romans with
 the same success: in the place
 of the old one, a new wall was
 built of solid stone, flanked
 with fortifications which were
 continued towards the south,
 with towers at intervals, for
 better defence and security.

“ Sicque valedixerunt Britan-
 nis Romani tanquam ultra
 non reversuri.” See Bede,
 Hist. Eccl. i. 12. Flor. Wi-
 gorn. ib.]

^s [See Nennius, c. xxxv. sq.
 Bede, E. H. i. 15. Usher, ib.
 206-208, 216-221, 230.]

A.D. 449. afterwards in such swarms, that quickly they grew formidable to him that invited them over, of guests turning sojourners, then inmates, and lastly landlords, till they had dispossessed the Britons of the best of the island: the entertaining of mercenary soldiers being like the administering of quicksilver to one in *iliaca passio*, a receipt not so properly prescribed by the physician to the patient, as by necessity to the physician. If hired aid do on a sudden the work they are sent for, and so have a present passage to be discharged, sovereign use may be made of them: otherwise, if long tarrying, they will eat the entrails, and corrode the bowels of that state which entertains them, as here it came to pass.

The respective bounds of the Saxon heptarchy.

17. For soon after the Saxons erected seven kingdoms in Britain: and because their several limits conduce much to the clear understanding of the following history, and we for the present are well at leisure, we will present the reader with the description of their several principalities. The partition was made by mutual consent, thus far forth, that every king caught what he could, and kept what he caught; and there being amongst them a parity of high-spirited princes, who more prized an absolute sovereignty over a little than a propriety with subjection in never so much, they erected seven several kingdoms in little more than but the third part of this island; a thing which will seem no wonder to him who hath read how the little land of Canaan^t found room at the same time for one and thirty kings. But let us reckon them up.

i. The first was the kingdom of Kent, which

^t Joshua xii. 24.

began anno 457, under king Hengist^u. It contained A.D. the county of Kent, as it is at this day bounded, without any notable difference. And though this kingdom was the least of all, as consisting but of one entire county without any other addition, yet was it much befriended in the situation for traffick with France and Germany. Besides, it being secured on three sides with Thames and the sea, and fenced on the fourth with woods, this made their kings (naturally defended at home) more considerable in their impressions on their neighbours.

ii. Of the South-Saxons, comprising Sussex and Surrey, both which, till very lately, were under one sheriff. And this kingdom began anno 491^v, under king Ælle, and was the weakest of all the seven, affording few kings, and fewer actions of moment.

iii. Of the East-Saxons, comprehending Essex, Middlesex, and so much of Hertfordshire as is under the bishop of London's jurisdiction, whose diocese is adequate to this kingdom. A small ring, if we survey the little circuit of ground; but it had a fair diamond in it, the city of London, though then but a stripling in growth, well thriving in wealth and greatness. This kingdom began in Erchenwin about the year 527^w.

^u [The Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Worcester both in the body of his history and in the appendix, (expressly devoted to the rise and limits of these kingdoms), date the commencement of the reign of Hengist in the year 455. From both historians, however, it is evident that the Britons were not entirely expelled from Kent till 457. This kingdom

included also the Isle of Wight and the coast opposite.]

^v [In 477. According to the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntingdon, (f. 179.) the Britons were completely extirpated from this kingdom at the siege of Andredes-cester (Pevensy?) in 491.]

^w [See Mat. of Westm. a. 527. Hen. of Huntingdon, f. 180.]

A.D. 449. iv. Of the East-Angles, containing Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, with the isle of Ely, and (as it seems, saith a reverend writer^x) part of Bedfordshire. It began anno 575^y, under king Uffa, and lay most exposed to the cruelty of the Danish incursions.

v. Of Mercia, so called because it lay in the midst of the island, being the merches or limits on which all the residue of the kingdoms did bound and border^z. It began anno 582^a, under king Crida, and contained the whole counties of Lincoln, Northampton, (with Rutland, then and long since part thereof,) Huntingdon, Buckingham, Oxford, Worcester, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Stafford, and Chester; besides part of Hereford and

^x Usher de Brit. Ecc. Primord. p. 394=210.

^y [This date is far too low. It is evident from Florence of Worcester, (p. 569,) and William of Malmesbury, (f. 14,) that the kingdom of the East-Angles was prior to that of the West-Saxons. Indeed from their language it may fairly be concluded to be next in antiquity to that of Kent. The opinion therefore of Ranulph Hygden (though a writer of no great judgment) is probably correct, that it commenced in 492 under king Uffa. This is more probable from a fact stated by the same writer, and confirmed by Bede, that the East-Angles were originally called *Uffingæ*. Bede, Eccl. Hist. ii. 15. R. Hygden p. 224. ed. Gale. See also Mat. Westm. p. 196, 197.

Of the precise date of the

kingdom of the East-Saxons, neither Florence of Worcester nor Malmesbury have spoken positively; they state that it was founded at the same time as that of the East-Angles. Perhaps somewhat later. Fuller probably derived this date from Henry of Huntingdon, who seems to place the commencement of the kingdom of the East-Saxons in the ninth year of Cerdic, king of Wessex, which would make the date 527. See Huntingd. f. 180.]

^z Lambard's Descript. of Kent, [p. 5. ed. 1596. The name was derived, according to Lambard, from the Saxon word *mearc*, signifying a bound or limit.]

^a [In 585 according to Mat. of Westminster. None of the earlier writers speak positively as to the date. See Huntingd. f. 181.]

Salop, (the remnant whereof was possessed by the A.D. 4 Welsh,) Gloucester, Bedford, and Lancaster. In view it was the greatest of all the seven: but it abated the puissance thereof, because on the west it affronted the Britons, being deadly enemies; and bordering on so many kingdoms, the Mercians had work enough at home to shut their own doors^b.

vi. Of Northumberland, corral with Mercia in greatness, though far inferior in populousness, as to which belonged whatsoever lieth betwixt Humber and Edinborough-Frith. It was subdivided sometimes into two kingdoms, of Bernicia and Deira. The latter consisted of the remainder of Lancashire, with the entire counties of York, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Bernicia contained Northumberland, with the south of Scotland to Edinborough. But this division lasted not long, before both were united together. It began anno 547, under king Ida^c.

vii. Of the West-Saxons, who possessed Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devonshire; part of Cornwall, and Gloucestershire: yea, some assign a moiety of Surrey unto them. This kingdom began anno 519^d, under king Cerdicus,

^b [Lambarda, ib. Under Mercia was included the territory or kingdom of the *Middel-Angli*, of which frequent mention occurs in Bede and the Saxon Chronicle. It was apparently governed by a viceroy dependant on the kingdom of Mercia.]

^c [Saxon Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. in a. 547. Previous to the time of Ida, Northum-

berland was governed by dukes, who were subject to the kings of Kent; for when Hengist was confirmed in Kent, he sent Otha and Ebusa to subjugate the northern parts of the island. Malms. De gestis Regum, f. 8.]

^d [In the Saxon Chronicle it is attributed to the year 495, but the complete and undisturbed possession of it to the year 519. See Will. of Malms-

A. D. 449. and excelled for plenty of ports on the south and Severn sea, store of boroughs, stoutness of active men, (some impute this to the natural cause of their being hatched under the warm wings of the south-west wind,) which being excellent wrestlers, gave at last a fall to all the other Saxon kingdoms. So that as the seven streams of Nilus lose themselves in the midland sea, this heptarchy was at last devoured in the West-Saxons' monarchy.

The reason that there is some difference in writers in bounding of these several kingdoms is, because England being then the constant cockpit of war, the limits of these kingdoms were in daily motion, sometimes marching forward, sometimes retreating backward, according to variety of success. We may see what great difference there is betwixt the bounds of the sea at high-water, and at low-water mark: and so the same kingdom was much disproportioned to itself, when extended with the happy chance of war, and when contracted at a low ebb of ill success. And here we must not forget that amongst these seven kings, during the heptarchy, commonly one was most puissant, overruling the rest, who styled himself king of the English nation^d.

Irish St.
Patrick said
to live and
die at Glas-
senbury.

18. But to return to the British church, and the year of our Lord 449, wherein St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, is notoriously reported to have come to Glassenbury; where finding twelve old monks, successors to those who were first founded there by

bur. f. 5, 6, and Hen. Huntingd. f. 179. For the division of these kingdoms, and the extent of the different sees, ac-

cording to the earliest and most trustworthy chroniclers, see Malms. *ibid.* f. 18.]

^d Camden's Brit. p. 97.

Joseph of Arimathea,) he, though unwilling, was A. D. 44 chosen their abbot, and lived with them thirty-nine years, observing the rule of St. Mark and his Egyptian monks; the order of Benedictines being as yet unborn in the world. Give we here a list of these twelve monks, withal forewarning the reader, that for all their harsh sound, they are so many saints; lest otherwise he should suspect them by the ill noise of their names to be worse creatures.

1 Brumbam.	7 Loyor.
2 Hyregaam.	8 Wellias.
3 Brenwal.	9 Breden.
4 Wencreth.	10 Swelwes.
5 Bantcommeweng.	11 Hinloernius.
6 Adelwalred.	12 Hin ^e .

But know that some of these names, as the 3rd, 6th, and 9th, are pure, plain, Saxon words^f, which renders the rest suspected. So that whosoever it was that first gave these British monks such Saxon names, made more haste than good speed, preventing the true language of that age.

19. So great was the credit of St. Patrick at Glas- A. D. 449
senbury, that after his death and burial there, that ^{He is mad}
church which formerly was dedicated to the Virgin ^{copartner}
Mary alone, was in after-ages jointly consecrated to ^{in the}
her and St. Patrick. A great presumption: for if it ^{church}
^{with the}
^{Virgin}
^{Mary.}
be true what is reported, that at the first, by direction of the angel Gabriel^g, that church was solely devoted to the Virgin Mary; surely either the same or some other angel of equal power ought to have

* [See Malmsbury, De Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, p. 296, and Usher, ib. p. 56.] Camden, and since by the archbishop of Armagh. [See Usher, ib. p. 56.]

^f First observed by Mr. ^g See 1. Cent. 2. parag. p. 17.

A.D. 449. ordered the admission of St. Patrick to the same, to be matched and impaled with the blessed Virgin in the honour thereof. In reference to St. Patrick's being at Glassenbury, several Saxon kings granted large charters, with great profits and privileges to this place.

Yet the credit of Patrick's being at Glassenbury shrewdly shaken.

20. But now the spite is, that an unparalleled critic in antiquity^h leaves this Patrick at this time sweating in the Irish harvest, having newly converted Leinster to the faith, and now gone into the province of Munster on the same occasion. Yea, he denies (and proveth the same) that this Patrick ever lived, or was buried at Glassenbury. But be it known to whom it may concern, that the British are not so overfond of St. Patrick, as to ravish him into their country against his will, and the consent of time. Yea, St. Patrick missed as much honour in not being at Glassenbury, as Glassenbury hath lost credit if he were never there; seeing the British justly set as high a rate on that place, as the Irish do on his person. See but the glorious titles (which with small alteration might serve for Jerusalem itself) given to Glassenbury: and seeing now the place is for the most part buried in its own dust, let none envy these epithets for the epitaph thereof.

Here lies the Cityⁱ which once was the Fountain and
Original of all Religion, built by Christ's disciples,
consecrated by Christ himself^k; and this
place is the MOTHER OF SAINTS^l.

^h James Usher, de Brit. [Malmsbur. ib. p. 313 and Eccl. Primord. p. 875, 883, p. 320.]
894, 895=519.

ⁱ Or borough.

^k In the charter of king Ina, and also in king Edgar's.

^l So called in the charter of king Kenwin. Malmsbury, [ib. p. 308.]

We are sorry therefore for St. Patrick's sake, if he ^{A.D. 449} was never there. To salve all, some have found out another Patrick, called Senior, or Sen Patrick, (a nice difference,) equal with the Irish apostle in time, and not much inferior in holiness, who certainly lived at Glassenburyⁿ. The plain truth is, that as in the Comedian^o, when there were two Amphitruos and two Sosias, they made much fallacious intricacy and pleasant delusion in the eyes of the spectators: so there being in this age two Patricks, (others say three^p,) two Merlins^q, two Gildases^r, and (that the homonymy may be as well in place as in persons) three Bangors^s, three Glassenburies^t, (as haste or ignorance in writers mistake them,) these jumbled together have made a marvellous confusion in writers, to the great prejudice of history, where they are not exactly observed.

21. But leaving St. Patrick, let us try whether we ^{A.D. 450} can have better success with St. Ursula, daughter of ^{The fabulous history of St. Ursula confuted.} Dinoth, or Deo-notus duke of Cornwall, who in this year is said with eleven thousand virgins to have sailed over into Little Britain in France, there to be married to the Britons their countrymen, who refused to wed French women for their wives: but by foul weather these virgins were cast on the French shore, amongst pagans, by whom they were cruelly murdered, for refusing to forsake their religion or betray their chastity. Others tell the story quite contrary; how the aforesaid Ursula with her virgin army went

ⁿ [See Usher, ib. 458, 464.]

^o Plautus his Amphitruo.

^p See Usher, ib. p. 895.

^q Ambrosius, Caledonius.

^r Albanus, Badonicus.

^s In Flintshire, in Carnarvonshire, in Down in Ireland.

^t Glasgow in Scotland, Dun-glass in Ireland.

A. D. 450. to Rome, where she conversed with pope Cyriacus^v, her countryman, and with him returning back into Britain, was murdered by the command of Attila king of the Hunnes, at Cologne, with all the rest of the virgins, and the aforesaid pope Cyriacus, whose name is omitted in the papal catalogue, because before his death he surrendered his place to Anterus his successor. In which relation we much commend the even tenor thereof, consisting of so level lies, that no one swelling improbability is above the rest; but for matter of time, place, and persons, all passages unlikely alike. We dare not defame Britain, as to suspect but that eleven thousand Christian virgins, all at once, able to travel, might be found therein: though at this time paganism prospered in this land, and religion was in a low condition. But what made these Christian Amazons with Ursula their Penthesilea to go (not to say to gad) to Rome? Surely they were no daughters of Sarah, *which did abide in her tent*^w, but rather sisters of Dinah^x, which would go abroad to see foreign fashions; and therefore their hard usage is the less to be pitied. Was it modest for so many maids to wander by themselves, without a masculine guard to protect them? Did ever such a wood of weak ivy grow alone, without any other trees to support it? But the city of Cologne will not abate us one of the eleven thousand, where their relics and sepulchral inscriptions are at this day to be seen. And we may as safely believe that these virgin-martyrs lie there entombed, as that the bodies of the three wise men of the east, com-

^v Visiones Elizabethæ iv. 2.
ed. Paris, 1513, et Colon.
1628.

^w Gen. xviii. 9.
^x Gen. xxxiv. 1.

monly called the three kings of Cologne, which A. D. 450. came to visit our infant Saviour at Bethlehem, are interred in the same city, which the monks of Cologne brag of, and shew to travellers. Besides all this, there is a town in Berkshire called Maidenhead^y, which (as many other churches in Christendom) was dedicated in memory of their virginity: which, if it be not an argument strong enough to convert the reader to the belief of this story, we must leave him to his infidelity; that as tales of bugbears are made to fright crying children, so this story of Ursula was contrived to befool credulous men.

22. Nor hath the judicious reader cause to wonder ^{A. D. 453.} that no better account is given of the British church ^{Why so little church story in this age.} in this age, considering the general persecution by pagan Saxons. Religion nowadays played least in sight, hiding itself in holes; and the face of the church was so blubbered with tears, that she may seem almost to have wept her eyes out, having lost her seers and principal pastors. Only two prime preachers appear: Vodine, the learned and pious bishop of London, who, taking the confidence to reprove Vortigern the British king, for putting away his lawful wife and wedding Rowen, the heathen daughter of Hengist, was by him most barbarously murdered^z: the second, Gildas Albanus, (much ancients than his namesake surnamed the wise,) born in Scotland, bred in France; whence returning into the south of Britain, he applied himself to the preaching of divinity, and reading liberal sciences to

^y Camden's Brit. in Berkshire, [p. 207. Of St. Ursula, see Usher, ib. p. 331.]

^z Hector Boeth. Scot. hist. viii. [p. 143.]

A. D. 462. many auditors and scholars at Pepidiauc^a, a promontory in Pembrokeshire.

Gildas at a strange sight suddenly silenced.

23. It happened on a day, as Gildas was in his sermon, (reader, whether smiling or frowning, forgive the digression,) a nun^b big with child came into the congregation, whereat the preacher presently was ^cstruck dumb, (would not a maid's child amaze any man?) and could proceed no further. Afterward he gave this reason of his silence, because that virgin bare in her body an infant of such signal sanctity, as far transcended him. Thus as lesser lodestones are reported to lose their virtue in the presence of those that are bigger, so Gildas was silenced at the approach of the Welsh St. David, (being then but Hanse en Keldar,) though afterward, like Zachary, he recovered his speech again. Thus fabulous authors^d make this St. David a mock John Baptist, forcing a fond parallel betwixt them; where to make the proportion current, Gildas must be allowed father to St. David. But enough; I like this scent so ill, I will follow it no further.

The partiality of Saxon writers.

24. Meantime fierce and frequent fighting betwixt the British and Saxons about defending and enlarging their dominions. And although Gildas (and out of him Bede) confess often alternation of success, yet other Saxon writers mention not the least overthrow of their own side, but constant conquering; as if

^a Usher de Brit. Ecc. p. 442=237. [In Welsh, Cantred-Dewi, that is, St. David's land.]

^b [Not a nun, though her name was Nonnita. See Girald.

Cambrensis, as quoted below.]

^c Girald. Cambrens. in the life of St. David. [Since published by Wharton in the *Anglia Sacra*, vol. II. p. 630.]

^d [Usher, *ib.* p. 443=237.]

their generals had always buckled on victory with ^{A.D. 4} their armour. It is almost incredible that ingenuous men should be so injurious to the truth and their own credits, by partiality, were it not that the factions of modern pens invite us to the belief thereof; not describing battles with a full face, (presenting both sides,) but with a half face, advancing their own, and depressing the achievements of the opposite party. Most true it is the British got many victories, especially under hopeful prince Vortimer^e, whose valour was the best bank against the Saxon deluge; until broken down by untimely death, the pagans generally prevailed, much by their courage, more by their treachery.

25. For they invited the British to a parley and banquet on Salisbury plain; where suddenly drawing out their seaxes, (concealed under their long coats,) being crooked swords, the emblem of their indirect proceedings, they made their innocent guests with their blood pay the shots of their entertainment. Here Aurelius Ambrosius is reported to have erected that monument of Stonehenge to their memory^f.

26. It is contrived in form of a crown, consisting of three circles of stones set up gatewise; some called corsestones, of twelve tons, others called cronets, of seven tons weight: those haply for greater, and these for inferior officers^g: and one

^e [Son of Vortigern. For an account of his battles with Hengist, and the subsequent treachery of the Saxons, see Nennius, chap. xlv—lii, and the judicious narrative of William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Reg. f. 4. Compare Matth.

Westmon. an. 460 sq., who has incorporated into his chronicle the British accounts.]

^f [See the Life of St. Dubricius, in Wharton's Angl. Sacr. II. 656.]

^g Camden's Britann. in Wiltshire, [p. 183.]

A.D. 463. stone at distance seems to stand sentinel for the rest. It seems equally impossible that they were bred here, or brought hither, seeing (no navigable water near) such voluminous bulks are unmanageable in cart or waggon. As for the tale of Merlin's conjuring them by magic out of Ireland, and bringing them aloft in the skies, (what in Charles' wain?) it is too ridiculous to be confuted. This hath put learned men on necessity to conceive them artificial stones, consolidated of sand. Stand they there in defiance of wind and weather, which hath discomposed the method of them; which, if made of any precious matter, (a bait to tempt avarice,) no doubt long since had been indicted of superstition; whereas now they are protected by their own weight and worthlessness.

A.D. 466.
Vortigern
burning in
lust, burnt
to ashes.

27. Vortigern the British king fled into Wales, to his castle Genereu, impregnable for situation, which he manned and womaned, (conveying a multitude of his whores into it,) and there lived surfeiting in lust, while his land lay sweltering in blood. Here Aurelius Ambrosius, setting fire on his castle, burnt him and his to ashes. This gave occasion to the report so constantly affirmed by many authors, (and men are prone to believe prodigious deaths of such as led licentious lives,) that Vortigern's palace, like another Sodom, was burnt by fire from heaven^b. Indeed in a secondary sense it was true; as all exemplary punishments more visibly proceed from divine vengeance. But otherwise, the first raisers of this fable did apparent wrong to the attribute of God's truth,

^b [As Nennius describes it, ports concerning the death of Hist. Brit. chap. xlix. He Vortigern. See also Usher, ib. also sets down the other re- 206, 240.]

in pretending to do extraordinary right unto his A.D. 466. justice.

28. This Aurelius Ambrosius is said to be ex-Aurelius ^{causelessly} tracted of the Roman race, who having done this ^{slandered} execution on Vortigern the tyrant, was a singular ^{by an} champion of the British against their enemies. One ^{Italian.} composed of valour and religionⁱ, wholly employing himself in time of peace to raise new churches, repair old, and endow both: unworthy therefore the libel of an ^kItalian author, who on no other evidence than his own bare assertion, traduceth this Ambrosius to have been a favourer of Judaism, Arianism, Manicheism, and a persecutor of the professors of true religion. Thus the greatest virtue is sanctuary too small to secure any from the pursuit of slanderous pens: and thus some humorous authors, leaving the road of true reports, because common, go a way by themselves of different relation, so to entitle themselves to more immediate and peculiar intelligence; as if others (being only of truth's council) had not received such private instructions as themselves, being cabinet historians.

29. Leave we this Ambrosius bickering with the Saxons, with interchange of success, much com-^{The academy of learned men under} mended for his constancy in all conditions. For ^{Dubritius.} sometimes his valour was the hammer upon, sometimes his patience was the anvil beneath his enemies; but always he bravely bare up his spirits: and as the sun looks biggest on the earth when he is nearest to set, so he carried it out with the boldest appearance in the lowest declination of his fortune. If we be-

ⁱ [See Bede, E. H. i. 16.]

^k Gotfrid. Viterbiensis Chro. part 18. [Basil. 1559.]

A.D. 466. hold the church in his time, the most visible estate thereof presents itself to us in the academy which Dubritius kept, near the river Wye in Monmouthshire. His father, say some¹, was unknown; others make him to be son to Pepiau, a petty king in this age^m: it being observable, that in this and the next century all men eminent for learning and religion are either made without known fathers, or sons to kings; (no mean betwixt these extremes, as by many instances may appear;) so that such as consider the narrowness of the principality, will admire at the number of British princes. This Dubritius taught many scholars for seven years together, in human and divine learning, (being himself, in his life, a book of piety of the best edition for his pupils to peruse,) amongst whom the chiefest, Theliau, Sampson, Ubelin, Merchiguin, Elguored, &c.; for the reader had better believe than read the names of the restⁿ, remarkable only for length and hardness, without any other information. Afterward Dubritius removed to Warwick, (haply mistaken for Werwick, a village some two miles from Cardigan^o;) and from thence it seems returned to Moch-Rhos, that is, "the place of a hog:" because he was admonished, in a vision in his sleep, there to build a chapel or oratory, where

¹ Johan. Tinmuthensis in ejus vita, [quoted by Usher, ib. 445=238.]

^m Chro. colleg. Warwicensis, [quoted by Usher, ib. Capgrave abridged the narratives of John of Tinmouth. In an ancient life of St. Dubricius, written in the eleventh or twelfth century by Benedict, a monk of Gloucester, he is stated to be

the grandson of Pepiau, and a very different account is given of his birth. This life has been printed in Wharton's Ang. Sacr. II. 654. Benedict in his introduction states that he compiled this life from authentic materials.]

ⁿ [Usher, ib. p. 445=238.]

^o Vid. Speed's map of that county.

he should find a white sow lodging with the hogs^p, A. D. 469.
 clean conceit, and as full of wit as devotion. It
 seems the friar, father of this fable, had read as far
 as the eighth book of Virgil's *Æneids*, where the
 river Tiber, in a dream, advised *Æneas* to erect an
 altar, and sacrifice to Juno in the place where he
 should find the sow lying with the pigs; and from
 this pagan hint, was advantaged for a popish legend.

30. Here we cannot but renew our former com-
 plaint: and it is some mitigation to our misery, (as ^{Forged lies} ^{obtruded on} ^{posterity in} ^{lieu of lost} ^{truths.} perchance some ease to the reader,) if we can but
 vent our old grievances in new expressions: how in-
 stead of true history, devoured by time, prodigious
 tales of impudent brazenfaced monks are obtruded
 upon us. Thus when the golden shields of king
 Solomon were taken away, Rehoboam substituted
 shields of brass in their room^q; though not so good,
 perchance more gaudy, especially to ignorant eyes
 viewing them at distance, and wanting either the
 skill or opportunity to bring them to the touch.
 Amongst which the tale of *Cungarus* the Eremite,
 otherwise called *Doccuin*^r, (but first let the one man
 be allowed before his two names be admitted,) may
 challenge a principal place; being reported son of a
 Constantinopolitan emperor, and *Lucilia* his em-
 press^s. A name unowned by any Grecian historians.
 The best is, that unconscionable liars, though they
 most hurt themselves, do the least harm others,
 whose loud ones are both the poison and the anti-
 dote, seeing no wise man will believe them. Small

^p [Scropham albam cum
 porcis cubantem reperit. Usher,
 ib.]

^r [Usher, ib. 252.]

^s Joh. Capgrave in vita S.
Cungari, [f. lxxx. ed. 1516.]

^q 1 Kings xiv. 27.

A.D. 469. grit and gravel may choke a man, but that stone can never stop his throat which cannot enter into his mouth.

A.D. 495. 31. In very deed, very little at this time was ever reported of church matters^t. For a drought of Christian writers (in the heat of persecution) caused a dearth of all history. Now it was that Cerdicus first king of the West-Saxons, having overcome the Britons at Winchester, killed all the monks belonging to the church of St. Amphibalus, and turned the same into a temple of idolatry^u. Also Theon, archbishop of London, seeing the pagan Saxons to prevail, left his see, and about this time may be presumed to have fled into Wales^v. I say, about this time. For what liberty is allowed to prognosticators of weather, to use all favourable correctives and qualifications, (like to be rain, inclined to rain, somewhat rainy, &c.) the same latitude we must request in relating actions past in point of chronology; *his fere temporibus, per hæc tempora, circa, circiter, plus minus, &c.* And what we take upon trust in this kind, let the reader be pleased to charge, not on the score of our ignorance, but on the uncertainty of that age's computation. As for St. Petrock, son to the king of Cumberland, we remit him to the next age, because though budding in this, full blown in the next century.

Merlin left in a twilight; whether that magician was an impostor, or 32. This age is assigned by authors for that famous Ambrose Merlin, (differing from Sylvester Merlin the Scot,) though it be doubtful whether ever such a man *in rerum natura*; it being suspicious,

^t [Usher, ib. 249.]

^v But Matth. Florilegus de-

^u Wintoniensis Ecc. Hist. signeth the year 586.
c. ix. [quoted by Usher, ib.]

First, because he is reported born at Carmar- A.D. 495.
 then, and that city so denominated from him. his whole
 Whereas it is called Maridunum by Ptolemy many story an
 years before. Thus it is ominous to begin with imposture
 a lie. put upon
credulous
posterity.

Secondly, because it was said his mother was a nun, got with child by a devil in the form of an incubus; perchance such a one as Chaucer describes.

It seems, that as vestal virgins, when they had stolen a great belly, used to entitle some deity to the getting of their child, (so did the mother of Romulus and Remus,) whereby they both saved themselves from shame, and gained reputation; so nuns in this age, when with child, unable to persuade people (as the poets feign of the Spanish mares) that they were impregnated by the wind alone, made the world believe that some spirit had consorted with them. This makes the whole story of Merlin very doubtful; and as for all his miracles and prophecies, they sink with the subject. For sure the same hand which made the puppet gave it all its motions, and suited his person with properties accordingly. May the reader be pleased to take notice of three ancient British writers:

1. Aquila Septonius, or the Eagle of Shaftsbury, whether he or she.

2. Perdix Præsagus, or Partridge the prophetier.

3. Merlin Ambrose.

All three birds of a feather, and perchance hatched in the same nest of ignorant credulity: nor can I meet with a fourth to make up the mess, except it be the Arabian Phœnix. But because it is a task too great for a giant, to encounter a received tradition, let Merlin be left in a twilight as we found

A.D. 495. him. And surely no judicious man will censure the mention of Merlin, whose magical pranks and conjurations are so frequent in our stories, to be a deviation from the history of the church, who hath read both of Simon Magus, and Elymas the Sorcerer, in the Acts of the Apostles^w.

^w [For a specimen of Merlin's predictions, see Mat. Westmin. an. 464. Up to this period our British history is involved in darkness and confusion. What should be received, and what rejected, is still doubtful, after all the labour and research of Usher, and the critical sagacity of Stillingfleet. The Welsh, if they ever possessed, have never preserved any authentic materials of their history previous to the time of Geoffry of Monmouth, and the legends of Monmouth which have won their way in different shapes and disguises into the pages of various chroniclers, are the only source from which our British history is derived. By themselves indeed they never can deceive a sagacious reader into a belief of their authenticity, but when mixed with truths, or employed to give connection and consistency to a few bare facts, and swell them out into the proportions of a just and real history, they perplex the reader, who is continually ha-

ressed with the difficulty of separating truth from falsehood, and is in constant danger of assuming plausible interpretations of historical facts for true and genuine, which are purely legendary. In this, British history is not singular; the same is observable in the early annals of all other nations. A few isolated facts remain through the lapse of years, till the ingenuity of some modern writer weaves them together into a seeming consistency, with such additions as his own ingenuity suggests as likely to give an air of plausibility to the whole. When once such a composition has prevailed to be reputed the true history of any country, the work of separating truth from falsehood becomes extremely difficult. The experiment has been tried in Roman history, and until our own writers have passed through as searching a process, we look in vain for a trustworthy history, not merely of the earlier, but likewise of the later annals of this nation.]

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

TO DOUSE FULLER OF HAMPSHIRE, ESQ.^w

I cannot say certainly of you as Naomi did of Boaz, He is near of kin unto us^x, having no assurance, though great probability, of alliance unto you. However, Sir, if you shall be pleased in courtesy to account me your kinsman, I will endeavour that, as it will be an honour to me, it may be to you no disgrace.



QUESTIONLESS we shall not be ac- A.D. 501.

counted trespassers, though only ecclesiastical business be our right road, to go a little in the by-way of state-matters, because leading the shortest

The most miserable estate of the British commonwealth.

passage for the present to our church story. Most miserable at this time was the British commonwealth, crowded up into barren corners, whilst their enemies, the pagan Saxons, possessed the east and south; if not the greatest, the best part of the island. Much ado had Uter^y Pen-dragon, the British king, with all the sinews of his care and courage, to keep his disjointed kingdom together: whose only desire was to prolong the life, it being above his hopes to procure the health of that languishing state. And though sometimes the Britons got the better, yet one may say, their victories were spent before they were gained; being so far behindhand

^w [Arms: Argent, three barrulets and a canton gules. B.]

^x 2 Ruth 20.

^y [Uthr, that is, fearful or wonderful. Usher, ib. 249.]

A.D. 501. before, that their conquest made no show, swallowed up in the discharging of old arrearages. Needs then must religion now in Britain be in a doleful condition; for he who expects a flourishing church in a fading commonwealth, let him try whether one side of his face can smile when the other is pinched.

A.D. 508.

King Ar-
thur's ac-
tions much
discredited
by monkish
fictions.

2. Pen-dragon dying, left the British kingdom to Arthur his son, so famous in history, that he is counted one of the nine worthies^y: and it is more than comes to the proportion of Britain, that amongst but nine in the whole world, two should prove natives in this island, Constantine and Arthur. This latter was the British Hector, who could not defend that Troy which was designed to destruction: and it soundeth much to his honour, that perceiving his country condemned by God's justice to ruin, he could procure a reprieve, though not prevail for the pardon thereof. More unhappy was he after his death, hyperbolical monks so advancing his victories, above all reach of belief, that the twelve pitched battles of Arthur, wherein he conquered the pagan Saxons, find no more credit than the twelve labours of Hercules. Belike the monks hoped to pass their lies for current, because countenanced with the mixture of some truth; whereas the contrary came to pass, and the very truths which they have written of him are discredited, because found in company with so many lies. Insomuch that learned Leland is put to it to make a book for the asserting of Arthur. Many are unsettled about him, because Gildas his countryman (living much about his age) makes no mention of him: though such may be something

^y [See Usher, *ib.* 249 sq. *Arthur Latine translatum sonat ursum horribilem, &c. ib.*]

satisfied, if considering the principal intent of that A. D. 508. querulous author is not to praise, but to reprove, not greatly to grace, but justly to shame his country; his book being a bare black bill of the sins and sufferings, monsters and tyrants of Britain, keeping no catalogue of the worthies of this island; so that neither Lucius, Constantine, nor Arthur, are once named by him. But the best evidence that once Arthur lived in Britain is, because it is certain he died in Britain, as appeared undeniably by his corpse, coffin, and epitaph, taken up out of his monument in Glassenbury in the reign of king Henry the Second, whereof many persons of quality were eyewitnesses^z.

3. The entire body of the British church at this time was in Wales, where Bangor on the north, and ^{Caer-lion a principal staple of learning and religion.} Caer-lion (on Usk in Monmouthshire) on the south, were the two eyes thereof for learning and religion. The latter had in it the court of king Arthur, the see of an archbishop, a college of 200 philosophers, who therein studied astronomy, and was a populous place of great extent^a. But cities,

^z Giraldus Cambrensis, an eyewitness. Camden's Brit. in Somersetshire, [p. 166. Aulius Ambrosius, of whom some account is given at p. 105. was assisted in his efforts to repel the Saxons by Arthur. William of Malmesbury, who mentions the fact, observes in reference to the legendary tales circulated by the Britons respecting this prince, and subsequently embodied into a regular narrative by Geoffry of Monmouth; "Hic est Ar-

"thurus de quo Brittonum
"nugæ hodieque delirant;
"dignus plane quem non fal-
"laces somniarent fabulæ, sed
"veraces prædicarent historiæ,
"quippe qui labantem patriam
"diu sustinuerit, infractasque
"civium mentes ad bellum
"acuerit." De Gestis Reg.
f. 4.]

^a Thomas James out of Alexander Elsebiensis. MS. quoted by Camden in his Brit. in Monmouthshire, [p. 492.]

A. D. 508. as well as their builders, are mortal: it is reduced at this day to a small village. But as aged parents content and comfort themselves in beholding their children, wherein their memories will be continued after their death, so *Caer-lion* is not a little delighted to see herself still survive in her daughter *Newport*, a neighbouring town raised out of the ruins of her mother^b. Whilst the other stood in prime, there was scarce an eminent man who did not touch here for his education; whom we will reckon in order, the rather because all the church history of this age seems confined to some principal persons. *Dubritius* aforementioned was the father and founder of them all, late bishop of *Landaff*, now archbishop of *Caer-lion*, a great champion of the truth against *Pelagius*^c; and he had the honour here to crown two kings, *Uter* and *Arthur*. Being very old, he re-
A. D. 516. signed his archbishopric to *David*, his scholar; and that he might be more able and active to wrestle with death, he stripped himself out of all worldly employment, and became an anchorite in the island of *Bardsey*^d. Six hundred years after, (namely, May the 20th, 1120,) his bones were translated to *Landaff*, and by *Urban*, bishop thereof, buried in the church, towards the north side thereof.

St. David
 an advancer
 of monastic
 life.

4. *David*, the next archbishop, of royal extraction, was uncle to king *Arthur*^e. He privately studied

^b [*Camden*, *ib.*]

^c [For which purpose he was consecrated by *Germanus* and *Lupus*, according to the writer of his life, in *Wharton's Angl. Sacr.* II. 656.]

^d *Godwin*, [*De præsul.*, p. 571. *Godwin's* book is particularly valuable, for the history of

the early Welsh bishops, having been principally compiled from the celebrated "*Liber Llandavensis*." He was himself bishop of *Llandaff*.]

^e [See his life by *Giraldus Cambrensis* in *Wharton's Angl. Sacr.* II. p. 628.]

the scriptures ten years before he would presume to A. D. 519. preach, and always carried the Gospels about him. He kept a synod against the Pelagian error, a second edition whereof was set forth in his time, and confirmed many wavering souls in the faith. By leave obtained from king Arthur, he removed the archiepiscopal seat from Caer-lion to Menevea, now called St. David's, in Pembrokeshire. In which exchange his devotion is rather to be admired, than his discretion to be commended; leaving a fruitful soil for a bleach barren place^f; though the worse it was, the better for his purpose, being a great promoter of a monastical life. And though the place was much exposed to the rapine of pirates^g, yet this holy man laid up his heavenly treasure where *thieves do not break through nor steal*.

5. Yet I am sensible that I have spent, to my shame, so much precious time in reading the legend of his life, that I will not wilfully double my guiltiness in writing the same, and tempt the reader to offend in like nature. This miracle I cannot omit^h. David one day was preaching in an open field to the multitude, and could not be well seen because of the concourse, (though they make him four cubits high,

One paramount miracle of St. David.

^f Giraldus Cambrensis. [De Statu Menevensis Eccl. in Wharton's A. S. II. p. 542.]

^g Camden's Brit. in Pembrokeshire, [p. 510.]

^h H. Porter's Flowers of the English Saints, p. 222. ["The Flowers of the lives of the most renowned Saints of the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland. By the R. Father Hierome Porter, Priest and Monke of the

" holy order of Sainct Benedict, of the Congregation of England. The first tome. Printed at Doway, with licence and approbation of the ordinary, 1632." 4°. Formed on the plan of the Roman and other martyrologies. The first volume reaches to the end of June. I have not been able to discover whether the second volume was ever published.]

A. D. 519. a man and half in statureⁱ;) when, behold, the earth whereon he stood, officiously heaving itself up, mounted him to a competent visibility above all his audience^j. Whereas our Saviour himself, when he taught the people, was pleased to choose a mountain^k, making use of the advantage of nature, without improving his miraculous power. He died aged 146 years, on the first of March^l, still celebrated by the Welsh with wearing of a leek^m; perchance to perpetuate the memory of his abstinence, whose contented mind made many a savoury meal on such roots of the earth.

Reasons
why men in
this age
lived so
long.

6. A wonder it is to see how many Methuselahs (extreme aged men) these times did produce. St. Patrick died aged 122; Samson, aged 120; David, 146; Gildas Badonicus, 90, &c.ⁿ Some reason whereof may be alleged, because living retired in a contemplative way, they did not bruise their bodies with embroiling them in worldly affairs: or it may be ascribed to their temperate diet, whilst many of our age spill their radical moisture through the leaks of their own luxury. Nor is it absurd to say, that God made these great tapers of a more firm and compacted wax than ordinary, that so they might last the longer in burning to give light to his church, and bestowed on them an especial strong natural constitution.

The dis-
creet devo-

7. About the same time (accurateness in com-

ⁱ Bale, Cent. I. §. 55.

eleventh century.]

^j [Taken from among many other miracles related of him by Giraldus, ib. 638. The life by Giraldus is chiefly a compilation from a life of St. David, written by Ricemarch, bishop of St. David's in the

^k Matt. v. 1.

^l [In the year 544. See Usher, ib. 274.]

^m Several reasons hereof assigned by authors.

ⁿ See Bale in their general lives, [I. §. 46, 55, 62, 66.]

puting years is not to be expected, for never were ^{A. D. 519.} more doublings and redoublings made by a hunted ^{tion of Cadocus.} hare, than there are intricacies in the chronology of this age, going backward and forward) flourished Cadocus, abbot of Lllancarvan in Glamorganshire, son of the prince and toparch of that country. This godly and learned man so renounced the world, that he retained part of his paternal principality in his possession, whereby he daily fed three hundred of clergymen, widows, and poor people, besides guests and visitants daily resorting to him°. He is equally commended for his policy, in keeping the root, the right of his estate, in his own hands; and for his piety, in bestowing the fruit, the profits thereof, in the relieving of others. It seems in that age wilful poverty was not by vow entailed on monastical life. Nor did this Cadocus, as regulars in aftertimes, with open hands scatter away his whole means, so foolishly to grasp his fist full of popular applause. He is said afterwards to have died at Beneventum in Italy.

8. Iltutus comes next into play, a zealous man, ^{Iltutus} and deep scholar; who not far from Cadocus, ^{abused with} at ^{monkish} Llan-lwit in Glamorganshire, (contractedly for Llan-^{forgeries.} iltut,) preached God's word, and set up a college of scholars, being himself a great observer of a single life. It is reported of him, that when his wife repaired to him for due benevolence, or some ghostly counsel, he put out her eyes, out of anger, for interrupting him in his constant course of chastity°. But surely some blind monk, having one of his eyes put

° Joan. Tinmuthensis in ejus vita, [quoted by Usher, ib. about three miles from Cow-bridge.]

1124=248. Lllancarvan is p Bale, Cent. i. §. 52.

A. D. 519. out with ignorance, and the other with superstition, was the first founder of this fable. Thus godly saints in that age were made martyrs after their death; persecuted (though in their commendation) with impudent and improbable lies. It is reported also of the same Iltutus, that he turned men into stones^q. Had it been stones into men, converting stupid souls into Christians by his preaching, it had been capable of an allegorical construction; whereas, as now told, it is a lie in the literal, and nonsense in the mystical meaning thereof.

A. D. 521.
Samson
archbishop
of Dole.

9. Samson succeeds, scholar to Iltutus, made by Dubritius bishop at large, *sine titulo*^r. It seems in that age all bishops were not fixed to the chair of a peculiar church, but some might sit down in any vacant place for their cathedral, and there exercise their episcopal authority, provided it were without prejudice to other bishops. Afterwards this Samson was made archbishop of Dole in French Britain; and in those days, such was the correspondency betwixt this Greater and that Lesser Britain, that they seemed to possess learned men in common betwixt them. Scarce am I reconciled to this Samson for ^scarrying away with him the monuments of British antiquity. Had he put them out to the bank, by procuring several copies to be transcribed, learning thereby had been a gainer; and a saver, had he only secured the originals; whereas now her loss is irrecoverable: principal and interest, authentics and transcripts, are all embezzled. Nor is the matter much, whether they had miscarried at home, by

^q Bale, ib.

^r Usher, de Brit. Eccl. prim.

p. 1130 = 277.

^s Bale, [Cent. i. §. 62.]

foes' violence, or abroad, by such friends' negligence. A. D. 540

10. It were a sin to omit St. Patern, for three and twenty years a constant preacher at Llan-Patern in Cardiganshire^t. His fatherlike care over his flock passeth with peculiar commendation; "that he governed his people by feeding them, and fed his people by governing them^u." Some years after the place continued an episcopal see, and was extinguished upon occasion of the people's barbarously murdering of their bishop. Paternus :
pattern for
all bishops

11. St. Petrock comes in for his share, from whom Petrock-stow, contracted Padstow, in Cornwall, is denominat^w. One of great piety and painfulness in that age. Afterward he is said to have gone to the East Indies, (all far countries are East Indies to ignorant people,) and at his return to be buried at Bodman in Cornwall. That county is the Cornucopia of saints, (most of Irish extraction,) and the names of their towns and villages the best nomenclature of the devout men of this age. If the people of that province have as much holiness in their hearts, as the parishes therein carry sanctity in their names, Cornwall may pass for another Holy Land in public reputation. A. D. 548.
Petrock the
captain of
Cornish
saints.

12. Next St. Petrock comes St. Teliau; for it is pity to part two such intimate friends. He was called, by allusion to his name, Helios^x, which in Greek signifieth the sun, because of the lustre of his life and learning. But the vulgar sort, who count it no fault to miscall their betters, if they have hard A. D. 550.
The piety
of St. Te-
liau.

^t [Usher, ib. 275.]

^u Camden's Brit. in Cardiganshire, [p. 518.]

^w [Usher, ib. 292.]

^x Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. Ang. p. 41. [ed. 1622.]

A. D. 550. names, called him Eliud, (one of that name was one of our Saviour's ancestors^y), turning the Greek into an Hebrew word, and understanding both alike. He was scholar to Dubritius, and succeeded him in the bishopric of Landaff. A pious man, constant preacher, and zealous reprover of the reigning sins of that time^z. This is all the certain truth extant of him; which some monks counting too little, have with their fabulous breath blown up the story of his life to such a bigness, that the credit thereof breaks with its own improbability^a. Witness his journey to Jerusalem, full of strange miracles, where he had a cymbal given him, excelling the sound of an organ, and ringing every hour of its own accord. No doubt a loud one. "Loaden with merits," saith the author^b, (I had thought nothing but sin could burden a saint,) he departed this life, having his memory continued in many churches of South-Wales, dedicated to him, and is remembered in the Roman Calendar on the ninth of February.

A. D. 580.

Several other worthies of the same age.

13. I had almost forgotten Congel, abbot of Bangor^c, who much altered the discipline of that monastery; Kentigern, the famous bishop of Elwy in North-Wales; St. Asaph, his successor in the same place. In whose mouth this sentence was frequent, "Such who are against the preaching of "God's word, envy the salvation of mankind^d." As

^y Matt. i. 14.

^z Bale, Cent. i. §. 58.

^a In the book of his life extant in the church of Landaff. [See the life of St. Teliau in Wharton's Ang. Sacr. II. 662.]

^b H. Porter's Flowers of the Saints, p. 151.

^c [Fuller has fallen into the same error as Bale, Cent. i. §. 53.

This Congellus or Comgallus was an Irishman, not a Briton; the monastery founded by him was in Ulster, not the celebrated Bangor in Wales. See Usher, ib. 69, 494.]

^d Godwin, [de Præsul. 633. See also the life of Kentigern, ib. 631.]

for Gildas, surnamed the Wise, their contemporary, A. D. 580. we reserve his character for our library of British historians*. Many other worthy men flourished at the same time; and a national church being a large room, it is hard to count all the candles God lighted therein.

14. Most of these men seem born under a travelling planet; seldom having their education in the place of their nativity: oftentimes composed of Irish infancy, British breeding, and French preferment; taking a cowl in one country, a crozier in another, and a grave in a third; neither bred where born, nor beneficed where bred, nor buried where beneficed; but wandering in several kingdoms. Nor is this to be imputed to any humour of inconstancy, (the running gout of the soul,) or any affected unsettledness in them; but proceeding from other weighty considerations. First, to procure their safety. For in time of persecution, the surest place to shift in, is constant shifting of places: not staying any where so long as to give men's malice a steady aim to level at them. Secondly, to gain experience in those things which grew not all in the same soil. Lastly, that the gospel thereby might be further and faster propagated. When there be many guests and little meat, the same dish must go clean through the board; and Divine providence ordered it, that in the scarcity of preachers, one eminent man, travelling far, should successively feed many countries.

15. To most of these authors many written volumes are assigned, the titles and beginnings whereof you

Pastors in this age why in constant motion.

Books falsely fastened on

* Vide our Library of British Histor. N°. i. [This work was never accomplished; perhaps being merged in "The Worthies," where some account of Gildas will be found.]

A. D. 580. may find in our countrymen Bale and Pits, who will
British
writers. persuade you that they have seen and perused some
of them. This they do partly to enhance the merit
of their industry in finding out so many rarities, and
partly to commend to the world the latitude of their
own reading. I shall as soon believe that they have
seen all Solomon's volumes, which he wrote from
the Cedar of Libanus, *to the hyssop that groweth on
the wall.* But this humour possesseth many men
that brag of many books coming under their dis-
covery; as if not only with the mice, they had crept
through the crannies of all libraries, but also with
the moths, had got betwixt the leaves of all treatises
therein. In plain truth, as it is probable that those
British prelates wrote many books of consequence,
so it is certain that long since by time they have
been abolished. As for those spurious tracts which
monks in after-ages set out under these worthy
men's names, they are no more to be accounted the
true offspring of these learned saints, than that
common manna, ordinarily sold in apothecaries'
shops, is the selfsame with that angel's food which
fell down from heaven and feasted the Israelites.

THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

THE SECOND BOOK,
FROM THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS TO CHRIS-
TIANITY, UNTIL THE (COMMONLY CALLED)
CONQUEST OF THE NORMANS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY,

LORD MARQUIS OF DORCHESTER,

EARL OF KINGSTON, VISCOUNT NEWARK, LORD PIERRE-
PONT, &c.^a



OW low learning ran in our land amongst the native nobility some two hundred years since, in the reign of king Henry the Sixth, too plainly appeareth by the motto in the sword of the martial earl of Shrewsbury, where at the same time one may smile at the simplicity and sigh at the barbarism thereof, SUM TALBOTI, PRO OCCIDERE INIMICOS MEOS. The best Latin that lord, and perchance his chaplains too in that age, could afford.

But in the next generation we may observe the rise of learning in noble families. I behold John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, bred in Balliol college, as the first English person of honour that graced learning with the study thereof in the days of king

^a [This was the celebrated Henry Pierrepont, who was appointed one of king Charles' commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. See some account of him in Wood's Fasti, ii. 22. He was highly esteemed for his abilities both as a scholar and an author.]

Edward the Fourth, both at home and in foreign universities. He made so eloquent an oration in the Vatican in the presence of pope Pius the Second, one of the least bad, and most learned of any of his order, that his holiness was divided betwixt weeping and wondering thereat^b.

This earl may be said to have left John Bouchier, baron of Berners^c, and governor of Calais, the heir to his learning; as who wrote many treatises and made excursions into variety of studies in the days of king Henry the Seventh^d.

This learned baron had several successors under king Henry the Eighth at the same time to his parts and liberal studies.

1. Henry lord Stafford, son to the last duke of Buckingham of that name^e.

2. William lord Montjoy, a great patron to Erasmus, and well skilled in chymistry and mathematics^f.

3. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, though last in

^b Bale, [Cent. viii. §. 46.]

^c [The celebrated translator of Froissart. He died in 1533. For a further account of him and his writings, see Wood's Ath. i. 33.]

^d Bale, Cent. ix. §. 1, et Pits de Scrip. Anglic. [p. 713.]

^e [A nobleman of considerable parts. Among other things, he translated the treatise "De vera differentia inter regiam potestatem et ecclesiasticam:" generally known by the name

of the king's book, but attributed by Bale to Fox, bishop of Hereford, the king's almoner. This nobleman died in 1558. See his life in Wood's Ath. i. 109. Bale, App. p. 112. Strype's Cran. 75. Mem. II. i. 41.]

^f [William Blount, fourth baron Mountjoy. Erasmus dedicated to him his Adagia. His correspondence with Erasmus is published in Epist. Erasmi, 1642.]

time, not least in merit, the first reviver of English poetry: so that he may seem in some sort to wave his coronet to wear the laurel^s.

Since whose time to our days learning hath ever had a visible succession in our nobility. Amongst whom your honour, as captain of the highest form, is most illustrious.

Indeed your lordship is a real refutation of that scandalous position which some maintain, that such who are generally seen in all arts, cannot be eminently skilful in any one. A position no better than a libel on learning, invented and vented either by the idle, who would not themselves study, or by the envious, who desire to discourage the endeavours of others.

Whereas there is such a sympathy betwixt several sciences, as also betwixt the learned languages, that as in a regular fortification one piece strengtheneth another, a resultive firmness ariseth from their complication, reflecting life and lustre one on another. Arts may be said to be arched together: and all learned faculties have such a mutual reciprocation. Thus one is the better canonist for being a good civilian, and a better common lawyer, for being both of them. And hereof your honour is an experimental proof, whose knowledge is spread so broad, yet lieth so thick in all liberal sciences.

^s [He was beheaded in 1547. too well known to require a His excellencies as a poet are more detailed account.]

What remaineth, but that I crave leave humbly to mind your lordship of that allusive motto to your name, *PIE REPONE TE*; that your honour reposing yourself piously in this life, may in a good old age be gloriously translated into another. The desire of,

Your Lordship's

Most bounden orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

CENTURY VI.



T is wonderful to see how the fruits of A.D. 585. great events are virtually comprised in the small seed of their causes, and how a contemptible accident may give the occasion of most considerable effects; The first occasion of the Saxons' conversion to Christianity.

as may appear by the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity^a. For it happened that certain Saxon children were to be sold for slaves at the market-place at Rome, when Divine providence, the great clock-keeper of time, ordering not only hours, but even instants^b, to his own honour so disposed it, that Gregory, afterwards first bishop of Rome of that name, was present to behold them. It grieved the good man to see the disproportion betwixt the faces and fortunes, the complexions and conditions of those children, condemned to a servile estate, though carrying liberal looks, so legible was ingenuity in their faces. It added more to his sorrow, when he conceived that those youths were twice vassals,

^a Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 1.

^b Luke ii. 38.

A.D. 585. bought by their masters, and *sold under sin*^c; served in their bodies, and slaves in their souls to Satan, which occasioned the good man to enter into further inquiry with the merchants which set them to what they were, and whence they came, according to this ensuing dialogue.

Greg. Whence come these captives?

Mer. From the isle of Britain.

Greg. Are those islanders Christians?

Mer. O no: they are pagans.

Greg. It is sad that the author of darkness should possess men with so bright faces. But what is the name of their particular nation?

Mer. They are called Angli.

Greg. And well may, for their angel-like faces becometh such to be coheirs with the angels in heaven. In what province of England did they live?

Mer. In Deira^d.

Greg. They are to be freed *de Dei ira*, from the anger of God. How call ye the king of that country?

Mer. ELLA.

Greg. Surely Hallelujah ought to be sung in that kingdom to the praise of that God who created all things^e.

^c Rom. vii. 14.

^d Which at this day is the bishopric of Deirham, or Durham.

^e [Bede narrates this dialogue as merely traditional, prefixing to it the following observation: "Nec silentio prætereunda opinio quæ de beato Gregorio traditione

"majorum ad nos usque lata est." This tradition however has been inserted nearly in the same word in the life of Gregory attributed to Joannes Diaconus (ii. 10), who also mentions the name of the pope to whom Gregory imparted his design of converting Britain, but which

Gregory's gracious heart set the sound of A. D. 581 word to the tune of spiritual goodness. Nor his words be justly censured for levity, if we consider how in that age the elegance of poetry consisted in rhythm, and the eloquence of prose in allusion. And, which was the main, where his pleasant epigrams did end, there his pious endeavours began; which did not terminate in a verbal jest, but produce effects, which ensued hereupon.

For repairing to Pelagius, bishop of Rome, he presented his discoveries unto him, desiring that he might be sent to endeavour the conversion of the English nation, tendering his personal service hereunto. But Pelagius was unwilling to expose Gregory to so dangerous a design, and the people of Rome accounting him a precious jewel, to be choicely reserved for his own wearing, would not cast this pearl before the swine, by hazarding him to the insolency of pagans. Now Pelagius not long after being dead into another world, Gregory succeeded in his

Gregory would convert England in his person, but doth it by his proxy.

mentioned in Bede. This was Pelagius I., who died in 582, not Pelagius II., his successor, as Fuller states (see Fulmsb. De Gestis, f. 8.). Therefore any credit be due to the life of Gregory, this error must have taken place before 585. But this error of the author should rather be attributed to Godwin, who, in tracing the passage of Paulinus, states that about twenty years (he should rather say eleven, for Gregory was raised to the popedom in 590) had elapsed since this mission, when Gregory, pope, attempted that by

his own authority which he was not permitted to do whilst in an inferior station. (De Præsul. p. 28.)

Archbishop Parker however, and I think justly, throws discredit upon this whole narrative. Observing upon the authority of Gregory's own letters, that his first motive to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, was an application made to him from them for that purpose. See the letters quoted by him in his Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 52. They are printed at full length in Wilkins' Conc. I. 10 sq. IV. 714.]

A.D. 585. place; who rising to new greatness, did not fall from his old goodness, but prosecuting his project with more earnestness, sent Augustine the monk, with Mellitus, and forty more, to preach the gospel in Britain. He himself tarrying behind in body, went with them in his spirit^f, accompanying them with his effectual prayers: and none will deny but that Moses in the mount contributed as much to the conquering of Amalek^g, as Joshua in the valley.

A.D. 596.
Augustine
and his fel-
lows shrink
for fear.

3. These men had not gone far, when they were surprised with a qualm of fear, and sending Augustine back again to Gregory, requested to be excused from going to so barbarous a nation, not as yet converted to civility, whose language they did not understand. Here some will be ready to deride them for cowards; who more seriously considering with how many excuses Moses, being sent by God himself, declined the going to Pharaoh^h, and how loath Jeremy was to preach to his countrymen, the stiff-necked Jewsⁱ, will presently change their censuring into commiserating the frailty of flesh, and common condition of mankind. But those make short miles, who looking through a window, travel a day's journey in an instant, whilst wayfaring men must honestly pay for every step, and dearly earn it with their industry. It is facile for men in their pleasing speculations to project the conversion of a kingdom, and with themselves to discourse a heathen nation into Christianity; whilst those must encounter many difficulties who really go about to perform it. Gregory perceiving them to tire in their under-

^f 1 Cor. v. 3.

^g Exod. xvii. 11.

^h Exod. iii. and iv.

ⁱ Jer. i. 6.

takings, spurred them on with his exhortatory letter; A.D. 55 the copy whereof is here inserted^k, to acquaint us with the style of the bishops of Rome in that age.

“Gregorius, the servant of the servants of God,
 “&c. For so much as better it were never to begin
 “a good work, then after it is once begun to go
 “from it again, you must needs, my dear sons, now
 “fulfill the good work, which by the help of God
 “you have taken in hand. Let therefore neither the
 “travail of the journey, neither the talk of evill-
 “tongued men dismay you. But with all force and
 “fervour make up that you have by the motion of
 “God begun, assuring yourselves, that after your
 “great labour eternall reward shall follow. Be you
 “in all points obedient unto Augustine, whom I
 “have sent back unto you, and appointed him to be
 “your abbot, knowing that shall much profit your
 “souls, which you shall do upon obedience of his
 “commandment. Our Almighty Lord defend you
 “with his grace, and grant me to see the fruit of
 “your labours in his kingdome of heaven: and though
 “I cannot labour myself with you, yet I may enjoy
 “part of your reward, for that I have a will to
 “labour. God keep you healthy, my dearly beloved
 “children.

“Dated the 23rd of July, our Lord Mauricius
 “Tiberius reigning, our most vertuous emperour, in
 “the fourteenth year of his empire, the thirteenth
 “year after his consulship, indictione 14¹.”

As yet we see the chaplain had not lorded it over his patron; as yet the pope's crown was not built

^k Bede's Hist. Eccl. i. 23, translated by Stapleton.

¹ [That is in the year 596.]

A D. 596. three stories high, but observed a distance of submission towards the emperor, as appears by his respectful expressions. Yea, this bishop measured the time by the years of the emperor's reign, whose successors have learned a new arithmetic in their modern dates of charters, only reckoning by the years of their own consecration, without relating to any imperial account. Gregory (by the way) was the first which in humility used the style of *servus servorum Dei*. But as in the method of nature, a low valley is immediately seconded with an ambitious hill, so after this humble Gregory, (a submissive soul,) within two years followed Boniface the Third, in whom was the pitch of pride, and height of aspiring haughtiness, to be termed the universal bishop of the world^m.

Augustine troubled with mocking Michals in his passage through France.

4. Besides the aforesaid letter, Gregory wrote many others, one to Theodoric and Theodebert, kings of Franceⁿ, and several epistles to sundry French bishops, to accommodate and assist Augustine and his companions in so pious a design. And, which must not be forgotten, with them he sent over Candidus^o, a priest, into France, to receive the profits and long-detained arrears of the pope's *patrimonium*^p, as he terms it, (the diminutive is well increased at this time,) and with the money to buy clothes for the poor, and also to buy English pagan-captive youths in France of seventeen or eighteen year old, that they might be brought up in Chris-

^m [He was raised to the popedom in 607. "Hic imetravit a Phoca ut sedes apostolica caput esset Ecclesiæ, cum antea Constantinopolis primam se omnium scriberet."

Flor. Wigorn. an. 608.]

ⁿ Gregor. Ep. v. 58.

^o Ibid. v. 10.

^p Ibid. v. 57. [All these letters are printed in Wilkins' Conc. I. 10 sq. IV. 716.]

tianity in monasteries; so at once bestowing both A.D. 596. liberty, religion, and learning upon them. A transcendent degree of charity; an alms worthy Gregory's hands to give it. And now Augustine with his partners well encouraged, effectually prosecute their project, passing quietly through France, save only at the village of Saye in Anjou, where some giggling huswives (light leaves will be wagged with little wind) causelessly fell a flouting at them. But in after-ages, the people of the same place, to repair this wrong, erected a masculine church (women being interdicted the entrance thereof) to the memory of St. Augustine; and how soundly one woman smarted for her presumption herein, take it on the trust of my author^a

Plebs parat ecclesiam mulieribus haud reserandam :

Introitum tentat una, sed illa perit.

They build a church where women may not enter :

One tried, but lost her life for her adventure.

Yet Augustine himself found courteous usage from the weaker sex : witness the kind carriage of Brunichilda the queen of France unto him, for which Gregory in an epistle^r returned her solemn thanks, and Bertha, the king of France his daughter, wife to Ethelbert king of Kent.

5. Augustine safely wafted over the sea, lands with the rest at Thanet in Kent, taking, as it seems, deep footing, if it be true what one writes^s, that the print of his steps where he first landed left as perfect

Augustine
for all his
power of
working
miracles,
needs inter-
preters

^a Alexander Essebiensis, in his Annal of Saints, and John Capgrave, [in Vita, fol. 31. b.]

^r Lib. v. 59, [and ix. 56.

Printed in Wilkins' Conc. I. 10.]

^s Porter's Flowers of the Saints, in the life of St. Augustine, p. 499.

A.D. 596. to preach
to the
English. a mark in a main rock as if it had been in wax ; and the Romanists will cry shame on our hard hearts, if our obdurate belief, more stubborn than the stone, will not as plially receive the impression of this miracle. But it is worthy our consideration, that though Augustine all his way might be tracked by the wonders he left behind him, (when thirsty, miraculously fetching a fountain^t, when cold, a fire, restoring the blind and lame to their eyes and limbs,) yet for all this he was fain to bring interpreters out of France with him, by whose help he might understand the English, and be understood by them. Whereas in Holy Writ, when the apostles (and papists commonly call Augustine the English apostle, how properly we shall see hereafter) went to a foreign nation, God gave them the language thereof, lest otherwise their preaching should have the vigour thereof abated, taken at the second hand, or rather at the second mouth, as Augustine's was ; who used an interpreter, not as Joseph^u to his brethren, out of state and policy, but out of mere necessity. This, I say, well thought on, will make our belief to demur to the truth of his so frequent miracles, being so redundant in working them on trivial occasions, and so defective in a matter of most moment. But leaving him and his for a time safely landed and lodged, that our gratitude to God may be the greater for freeing the Saxons our ancestors from the bondage of idolatry, let us behold with horror the huge fetters of error and ignorance wherewith the Devil kept them in durance before the gospel was preached unto them.

^t Idem, p. 498.

^u Gen. xlii. 23.

6. The Saxons, like the rest of the Germans, A.D. 596. whilst pure impure pagans, worshipped many idols, ^{The rabble of Saxon} barbarous in name, some monstrous, all antic for idols. shape, and abominable in the rites and ceremonies of their adoration. Some aver that as the Germans, affecting an autarchy, or sole-sufficiency amongst themselves, disdained commerce in customs or civil government with the Romans, so they communicated not with them in their religion. Yet others affirm that in after-ages the Dutch did enter common with the Romish superstition; at least-wise some modern authors have reduced the Saxon idols (symbolizing with the Romans in power and properties) to some conformity with the Roman deities. Now although, according to God's command to the Jews, *their names shall not be heard out of our mouth*^w, by way of praising them, praying to them, or swearing by them, yet an historical mention of them here ensuing, is as free from offence, as useful for information.

Besides the sun and moon, the Saxons sacrificed to

Name.	Shape.	Office.	Correspondent with
<i>Thor</i> or <i>Thur</i> , abbreviated of <i>Thunre</i> , which we now write <i>Thunder</i> . <i>Thursday</i> named from him ^x .	A corpulent statue reposed on a covered bed, wearing a crown of gold, about which twelve stars; a kingly sceptre in his right hand.	He governed the wind and clouds, causing lightning, thunder, tempest, fair or foul weather.	The Roman JUPITER.
<i>Woden</i> , that is wood, fierce, or furious, giving the denomination to <i>Wednesday</i> , or <i>Wodensday</i> .	Armed <i>cap a pie</i> , with a military coronet on his head.	He was the god of battle, by whose aid and furtherance they hoped to obtain victory.	MARS.

^w Exod. xxiii. 13.

^x Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, p. 74. [ed. 1634.]

^y So Verstegan, p. 72, but

Camden, Brit. p. 135, makes him to be Mercury. [Perhaps on the authority of Mat. Westm. p. 155.]

A.D. 596.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Shape.</i>	<i>Office.</i>	<i>Correspondent with</i>
<i>Friga or Frea</i> , remembered on <i>Friday</i> ² .	An hermaphrodite, perchance because the reputed patroness of generation, wherein both sexes are joined.	The giver of peace and plenty, the causer of love, amity, and increase.	VENUS.
<i>Seater</i> , still remaining on <i>Saturday</i>	Of a lean visage, long hair, bare head, holding in one hand a wheel, in the other a pail of flowers.	Conceived to have a great influence on the kindly fruits of the earth.	SATURN.
<i>Tuysc</i> , whence <i>Tuesday</i> took its name.	Covered with a skin, arms and feet naked, with an ancient aspect, and a sceptre in his hand.	The peculiar tutelary god of the Dutch, whence they had their name.	* * * * *
<i>Ermensevol</i> , that is, the pillar or stay of the poor.	Pictured with a banner in one hand with a red rose, in the other a pair of balance, on his head a cock, breast a bear, before him an escutcheon, &c.	The pretended bestower of wit and cunning in bargains and contracts.	MERCURY.
<i>Heile</i> .	His stately statue stood at Cern in Dorsetshire.	The preventer of diseases, preserver and restorer of health.	ÆSCULAPIUS.

Thus we see the whole week bescattered with Saxon idols, whose pagan gods were the godfathers of the days, and gave them their names. This some zealot may behold as the object of a necessary reformation, desiring to have the days of the week new dipped, and called after other names. Though indeed this supposed scandal will not offend the wise, as beneath their notice, and cannot offend the ignorant, as above their knowledge. Wherefore none need so hastily to hurry to the top of the main mast, thence to pluck down the badge of Castor and Pollux^a; but rather let them be careful steadily to steer their ship to the haven for which it is bound,

² [Malmsbury styles her the wife of Woden. De Gestis Regum, f. 3, b. Mat. West. ibid.]

The kings of the Saxons trace their pedigree to Woden.]

^a Acts xxviii. 11.

and let us redeem the time, for the days are evil; not A.D. 596. because in their name they bear the cognizance of the pagan gods, but because swarming with the sins of profane men, which all should labour to reprove in others, and amend in themselves.

7. But it was not a week or a month, yea, scarce A recruit of their idols. a year of days, which could severally contain the numerous Saxon idols. Besides the forenamed, they had Neptune^b, to whom in their abominable decimations they sacrificed every tenth captive whom they had taken in war; so making that sea-god to swim in man's blood, *per hujusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati, quam sacrilegia polluti*, saith an ancient Christian author^c. Secondly, Eoster or Goster, a goddess, which they worshipped in the spring time, wherein the feast of Easter afterwards was celebrated, and so thence named, as Bede observeth. Thirdly, Flynt, so termed because set on a great flint-stone, which, I dare boldly say, had more sparks of divine nature than that idol which thereon was erected. Lastly, Tacitus observeth^d, that the Saxons worshipped the peculiar god Herthus, the selfsame which in English we call the Earth, adoring that whereon they did daily trample.

8. Besides these, they had other lesser gods, of a All these antiquated by Christianity. lower form and younger house, as Helmsteed, Prono, Fridegast, and Siwe; all which at this day (to use the prophet's expression) *are cast to the moles and the bats*^e; fit company for them which *have eyes and see not*, blind to the blind, like all those which put

^b Selden of Tithes, ch. x. viii. Ep. 6. [p. 223. ed. 1652.]
p. 269. [ed. 1618.] ^d [Germania, chap. xl.]

^c Sidonius Apollinaris, lib.

^e Isaiah ii. 20.

A.D. 596. confidence in them. And as the true and real serpent of Aaron^f did swallow up and devour the seeming serpents which Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian enchanters did make, so, long since in England, the religion of the true God hath outlived and outlasted, confuted and confounded all false and feigned deities. To conclude this discourse. I have heard of a man, who being drunk, rode over a narrow bridge, (the first and last that ever passed that way, as which in likelihood led him to imminent death,) and next morning viewing how he had escaped, he fell into a swoon with acting over again the danger of his adventure in his bare apprehension. So should England (now, thanks be to God, grown sober and restored to herself) seriously recollect her sad condition, when posting in the paths of perdition, being intoxicated with the cup of idolatry, she would fall into a trance of amazement at the consideration of her desperate state, before Christianity recovered her to her right senses: the manner whereof we now come to relate.

A.D. 597.
The character of king Ethelbert. 9. When Augustine the monk, as is aforesaid, landed in Thanet, Ethelbert was then king of Kent. One who had very much of good nature in him; of a wild olive well civilized, and a stock fit to be grafted upon. Yea, he was already, with king Agrippa, (though not in the same sense,) *almost a Christian*^g; because his other half, queen Bertha, daughter to the king of France, was a Christian^h: to whom he permitted the free use of her religion, allowing her both Liudhard a bishop, for her chaplain, and an old church in Canterbury, formerly

^f Exod. vii. 12. ^g Acts xxvi. 28. ^h Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 25.

dedicated by the Romans to St. Martin, to exercise A.D. 597. her devotion therein. Besides, at this time, this Ethelbert was in effect monarch of England, whilst his person had residence chiefly in Kent, his power had influence even to Humber, all the rest of the Saxon kings being homagers unto him; which afterward much expedited the passage of the gospel in England. Thus each officious accident shall dutifully tender his service to the advance of that design which God will have effected.

10. Then Augustine acquainted this Ethelbert Augustine's addresses, and Ethelbert's answer. with his arrival, informing him by his messengers, that he brought the best tidings unto him, which would certainly procure eternal happiness in heaven, and endless reigning in bliss with the true God, to such as should entertain them. Soon after Ethelbert repaired into Thanet; to whom Augustine made his address, *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*, with a deal of (spiritual, carnal) pomp; having a silver cross carried before him for a banner, the image of our Saviour painted in a tableⁱ, and singing the Litany in the way as they went^j. King Ethelbert desired all things betwixt them might be transacted in the open air, refusing to come under a roof for fear of fascination. And indeed a stranger, who had never seen the like before, beholding Augustine with such abundance of trinkets about him, being formerly jealous, might hereby have his suspicion increased, that he went about some strange machination. However, Ethelbert returned him a civil answer; "That their promises were fair and good; but be-

ⁱ [Merely a painting of our Saviour. "Imago Domini Salvatoris in tabula depicta." Bede, *ibid.*]
^j Bede, *ib.* [Could it be St. Gregory's own litany?]

A.D. 597. "cause new and uncertain, he could not presently
 " assent unto them, and leave the ancient customs
 " of the English, which had been for so long time
 " observed. But because they were strangers, coming
 " from far countries, to communicate to him and his
 " such things as they conceived were good and true,
 " he would not forbid any converts, whom their
 " preaching could persuade to their opinion, and also
 " would provide them necessities for their comfort-
 " able accommodation."

Ethelbert
 and others
 converted
 to the
 Christian
 faith.

11. Hence Augustine, with his followers, advanced to Canterbury, to the aforesaid old church of St. Martin's. Here they lived so piously, prayed so fervently, fasted so frequently, preached so constantly, wrought miracles so commonly, that many people of inferior rank, and at last king Ethelbert himself was baptized, and embraced the Christian religion. The same Ethelbert also ordered that none should be forced into religion, having understood that Christ's service ought to be voluntary, and not compelled^k. And if his courtiers had been as cautious not to embrace religion for fashion, as the king was careful they should not receive it for fear, there had not at that time been made so many Christians for convenience probably rather than for conscience, who soon after returned again to paganism. However, as it is rendered a reason in the days of Hezekiah, why the Jews at so short warning so unanimously kept the passover, *God had prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly*, so on the same account it came to pass that in so little a time, besides temporary believers, so many true and sincere converts embraced the Christian faith.

^k Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 26. [Usher, De Antiq. 68.]

12. Then Augustine by his letters¹ informed Gre- A. D. 59
 gory of the progress and proficiency of his pains in Gregory's
 England^m. Gregory returned him a discreet answer, answer to
 rejoicing with him, and advising of him, not to be letters.
 puffed up by pride for the great miracles wrought by
 him; but, *timendo gaudere, et gaudento pertimescere*.
 He minded him how, when the disciples triumphed
 at their *casting out of devils*, Christ more spiritual-
 ized their joy, rather to rejoice *that their names were*
*written in heaven*ⁿ. And indeed, as some eminent in
 piety never attained this honour, *John (Baptist) did*
no miracle^o, so many, finally disavowed of God, as
 unknown unto him, shall plead for themselves, (and
 truly no doubt,) *In thy name have we cast out devils*^p.
 Yet this admonition of Gregory is with me, and
 ought to be with all unprejudiced persons, an argu-
 ment beyond exception, that (though no discreet
 man will believe Augustine's miracles in the latitude
 of monkish relations) he is ignorantly and uncha-
 ritably peevish and morose, who utterly denies some
 miracles to have been really effected by him. About
 the same time St. Gregory sent from Rome Mellitus,

¹ [In this interval, and prior to the date of these letters, Augustine, who hitherto was only a monk, went over to Arles, according to Gregory's direction to be consecrated by Etherius the archbishop of that city. Upon his return into Britain he sent Laurentius a priest, and Peter a monk, to inform Gregory that the English nation had received Christianity, and that he had now received the episcopal dignity (se episcopum factum esse,) requesting Gregory's advice

and direction how he should act in his new honours. Gregory's answer is dated 601. The date therefore in the margin should be nearer 601 than 597. With his answer Gregory also sent by Mellitus and the rest, who were appointed to assist St. Augustine, a pall, with directions for the appointment of bishops in England. Bede, ib. 27.]

^m [Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 27--32.]

ⁿ Luke x. 17.

^o John x. 41.

^p Matt. vii. 22.

A. D. 600. Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus, to be fellow-labourers with Augustine in the English harvest.

Conclusion
of this cen-
tury.

13. Thus was Kent converted to Christianity. For such as account this a conversion of all England, to make their words good, do make use of a long and strong synecdoche, a part for the whole, far more than half of the land lying some years after in the darkness of paganism; which others afterward enlightened with the beams of the gospel. But as he is esteemed the architect or master-workman, not who builds up most of the wall, but who first designeth the fabric and layeth the foundation thereof, in the same respect Augustine carrieth away the credit of all that came after him, because the primitive planter of the gospel amongst the Saxons. And it is observable that this conversion was done without any persecution, (yea, considerable opposition;) costing some pain, no torture, some sweat, no blood; not one martyr being made in the whole managing thereof. Meantime the poor Christian Britons, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the gospel, and their mountains; little skilful in, and less caring for the ceremonies *à la mode*, brought over by Augustine: and indeed their poverty could not go to the cost of Augustine's silver cross, which made them worship the God of their fathers after their own homely but hearty fashion; not willing to disturb Augustine and his followers in their new rites, but that he had a mind to disquiet them in their old service, as in the sequel of the history will appear.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

AMICO·SUO

GR. B.^a

Socrates interrogatus, quo philtro natura sympathias conciliaret, quidve esset in causa, ut alii hominum primo occurso ament medullitus, alii sibi mutuo sint infensi, hanc rationem reddidit:

Deus, inquit, ab æterno quicquid futurum esset animarum creavit; creatas, per immensum temporis spatium in uno cumulo collocavit; collocatas, corporibus, prout indies generantur, infundit. Hinc est, si contingat vel fortuitum consortium inter eos homines, quorum animæ in hoc acervo propinquiores, quod primo visu, quasi veteris vicinitatis memores, se invicem diligant; dum isti, primo intuitu, antipathiæ stimulis urgeantur, quorum animæ adversantes diametrice opponebantur.

Fateor commentum hoc Socraticum a theologia abhorrere; et in philosophia plurimis asystatis laborare. Quod si ei subesset tantum veritatis quantum ingenii, sanctissime voverem in hoc animarum cumulo tuam et meam contiguas olim jacuisse; cum te primum conspectum et amicus amarem, et a te redamarer.



UCH about this time pope Gregory A. D. 601. sent two archbishops' palls into England; the one for London, the other for York^b. The former of these cities had been honoured with an archbishop's see some hundred years since king Lucius. But at the instance of Augustine, and by a new order of the foresaid

Why the archbishop's see was removed from London to Canterbury.

^a [See the Index.]

^b Rog. Wendover, Matth. Florileg. and Roff. Histor. [in an. 601. Usher, Antiq. 38-42.

For a description of these palls, see Harpsfield's Hist. Eccl. Ang. p. 58.]

A. D. 601. Gregory, this pall sent to London was removed thence to Canterbury, whereof Augustine was made archbishop, and there, for the future, fixed and confirmed for several reasons. First, London already had lustre enough, being the biggest city in Britain; and it was needless to add new spiritual to her old temporal greatness; which conjoined, might cause pride in any one place, whilst divided, they might give honour to two cities. Secondly, London, by reason of the receipt thereof, was likely to prove the residing place for the English monarch; and it was probable that the archiepiscopal dignity would there be eclipsed and outshined by the regal diadem. Thirdly, had Augustine been archbishop of London, he might have seemed to succeed the British archbishops, and to have derived some right from them, contrary to his humour, who would lead all, but follow none; and therefore would not wear an old title, but have a span-new archbishop's chair carved out for himself. Lastly, Canterbury was the place wherein Christianity was first received by the Saxons, and therefore deserved to be honoured, to perpetuate the memory thereof. Thus London hereafter must be contented with the plain seat of a bishop, the mother being made a daughter, and must come behind Canterbury, which did much wrong, and perchance something trouble her. But churches have more discretion and humility than to break their hearts about earthly precedence; and the matter is not much which see went first when living, seeing our age hath laid them both alike level in their graves^b.

^b [These remarks are incorrect and somewhat uncharitable. In the first place it is hardly probable that Christian-

2. Augustine thus armed with archiepiscopal authority, to shew a cast of his office by the aid of Ethelbert king of Kent, called a council for the Saxon and British bishops to come together, in the confines of the Wiccians and West-Saxons^c. An indifferent place for mutual ease, in midway betwixt both; haply presaging, that as their distant persons met on equal terms, so their opposite opinions might agree in some moderation. The particular place was called Augustine's Ake, (that is, his oak, in

A. D. 601.

Augustine
summons a
synod of
Saxon and
British
bishops.

ity had extended its influence, at present, much further than Kent; nor could ambition, or the fear of being eclipsed, furnish a motive for Augustine to remove from London to Canterbury, because Kent at this period was the most important kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy. As Kent was the first scene of St. Augustine's mission, and its king his first royal convert, it was hardly to be expected that the archbishop should fix his see at London, the capital of a kingdom which as yet had not risen into importance, and in all probability had not as yet received the Christian faith. For it was not till three years after, in 604, that Augustine sent Mellitus and Justus to preach to the West-Saxons (Flor. Wigorn. 604.) Furthermore, their kingdom was at this time dependant upon Kent, and London was governed by a viceroy appointed by Æthelbright, the king of Kent, (Saxon Chron. et Flor. Wigorn. an. 604. Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 3.) Another probable cause for Canterbury continuing to be the archiepi-

scopal see, when Canterbury was no longer from accidental causes the metropolis of this part of England, is given by William of Malmesbury, "Can-
"tuaræ sedit primus Augusti-
"nus Gregorii magni disci-
"pulus, ut vulgo notum est.
"Pallium autem et privile-
"gium archiepiscopatus idem
"Gregorius Augustino ad Lun-
"doniam concessit, ut in primo
"libro gestorum regaliū,
"per Kenulfi ostendimus epi-
"stolam; quia scilicet ad id
"tempus alterius obscuræ urbis
"notitia Romanos non atti-
"gisset. Verumtamen quia
"primus doctor, sedulitate re-
"gis hospitii et civium chari-
"tate captus, Cantuariæ inco-
"latum vivens throno annis
"quindecim, et mortuus tu-
"mulo fovit, omnis eo in post-
"erum honor translatus." De
"gestis Pontif. f. 111, b.]

^c [Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 2. The date of this council is disputed. The different opinions respecting it are discussed at some length in Wilkins' Conc. I. 27. n. The most probable date is that assumed by Fuller.]

A. D. 601. our modern dialect,) which Stapleton (mistaken by the affinity of Wiccii or Veccii, with Vectis, the Latin name for the Isle of Wight) seeketh near Southampton^d; where indeed he may find many oaks in the New forest, and yet miss the right one. For this oak stood in the confines of Worcester and Herefordshire^e, (though at this day time hath confounded it root and branch,) and therefore this meeting is in Latin called *synodus Vigorniensis*^f. Many solemn entertainments we know were anciently made under trees^g: and a palm-tree served Deborah for her Westminster-hall, wherein she judged Israel^h. But several reasons are assigned why Augustine kept this council under an oak. First, so public a place was free from exceptions; whereunto none were debarred access. Secondly, being congregated under the view of heaven, and not pent within the walls of a private house, they were minded of clear, fair, and open proceedings, without secret ends or sinister intents. Thirdly, perchance some pagan Saxons, allured with novelty, would repair to the council, whose jealousy was such, as in no case they would come under a roof for fear of fascination, as hath been formerly observedⁱ. Lastly, Augustine knowing that the pagan Britons performed their superstitions under an oak^k, celebrated his synod under the same, in some imitation, and yet a correction of their idolatry: as in a religious parallel, pagan temples had formerly by him been converted into churches of saints. But when

^d Translation of Bede, ib.

^g Gen. xviii. 4.

^e Camden's Britannia in Worcestershire, [p. 436.]

^h Judges iv. 5.

^f Spelman's Conc. I. 107.

ⁱ This reason is given by sir Henry Spelman, ib.

[Cf. Wilkins, I. 24.]

^k See I. Cent. §. 3. p. 4.

all is done, the matter is not so clear but that the A. D. 601.
 place called Augustine's Oak may as well be a town
 as a tree, so called from some eminent oak in, at, or
 near it: as the Vine in Hampshire, so named from
 vines anciently growing there, is a beautiful house
 and principal seat, where the barons Sandys have
 their habitation. And, what is most apposite
 for our purpose, Sozomen calleth the place where
 Theophilus kept a synod against St. Chrysostom, the
 Oak, which notwithstanding is notoriously known to
 have been a populous suburb of the city of Chalcedon.

3. At the first sessions of this synod there was a
 very thin appearance of the Britons: of whom Au-
 gustine demanded that they should mutually contri-
 bute with him their pains to convert the heathen in
 Britain, and that they should submit to the pope,
 and embrace an uniformity with the Romish rites,
 especially in the celebration of Easter¹. What their
 answer was, it is pity it should be delivered in any
 other words than what the abbot of Bangor, being
 the mouth for the rest, represented as followeth;
 and let it shift as well as it can for its own authen-
 ticalness.

BID ispis a diogel i chwi Be it known and without
yn bod ni holl vn ac arral, yn doubt unto you, that we all
uidd ac ynn ostingedig i Eg- are, and every one of us, obe-
lwys Dum, ac ir Paab o Ruvain, dient and subjects to the church
ic i Boob Kymir grissdion of God, and to the pope of
twyuol, y garu pawb yn i radd Rome, and to every godly
newn kariad perfaith, ac i Christian, to love every one in
helfio pawb o honaunt, ar air his degree in perfect charity,
i gweithred i vod ynn blant y and to help every one of them,
Dum : ac amgenach vuyddod by word and deed to be the
io hwn nidadwen i vod ir neb children of God: and other

¹ [And the administration of baptism according to the Romish
 custom. Bede, ib.]

A. D. 601. *yr yddich chwi y henwi yn Paab ne in Daad o daade: yw gleimio ac yw ovunn, ar uvyddod hwn ir idden ni yn varod yw rod-di ac yw dalu iddo ef ac i pob Krisdion yn dragwiddol. Heuid yr ydym ni dan lymod-rath esgob Kaerllion ar Wysc, yr hien y sidd ynoligwr dan Duw arnom ni, y nweuthud i ni gadwr ffordd ysbrydol^m.*

obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be pope, nor to be the Father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded. And this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of Kaerllion upon Uke, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual.

See we here the pedigree of the British church, which the shorter the ancients, the fewer steps it had the higher it reached. They were subject in spiritual matters to the bishop of Caer-lion, and above him unto God, without any subordination unto the pope: so that it was more than a presumption that religion came into Britain, not by the semicircle of Rome, but in a direct line from the Asiatic churchesⁿ. We must not forget, that though many years since the archiepiscopal see of the Britons was removed from Caer-lion to St. David's, yet it still retained the title of Caer-lion, as of the first and most famous place.

The credit of this manuscript impugned.

4. A late papist much impugneth the credit of this manuscript, as made since the days of king Henry the Eighth, and cavilleth at the Welsh thereof, as modern, and full of false spellingⁿⁿ. He

^m Copied exactly many years since by sir Henry Spelman out of an ancient British manuscript of Mr. Peter Mosten, a Welsh gentleman; Spelman's Concilia, I. 108.

in their mode of tonsure and observation of Easter.]

[ⁿⁿ For a copy of this quotation, in the present orthography of the Welsh, I am indebted to the Rev. J. Jones, of Christ Church, in this Univer-

ⁿ [With which they agreed

need not have used so much violence to wrest it out of our hands, who can part with it without considerable loss to ourselves, or gain to our adversaries ; for it is but a breviat or abstract of those passages, which in Bede and other authors appear most true, of the British refusing subjection to the see of Rome. Whilst therefore the chapter is canonical, it matters not if the contents be *apocrypha*, as the additions of some well-meaning scribe. And though this Welsh be far later than the days of abbot Dinot, and the English (added in the original) later than the Welsh, yet the Latin, as ancients than both, containeth nothing contrary to the sense of all authors, which write this intercourse betwixt Augustine and the Welsh nation.

5. But this synod in fine proved ineffectual, the British bishops refusing to submit, and Augustine to communicate with them without such submission. Whereupon, at Augustine's motion, a blind man was publicly presented amongst them, on whom the British bishops practised in vain with their prayers to restore him to his sight, which, at the request of Augustine to God, was presently and perfectly performed°. This miracle convinced the Britons that Augustine was in the right for the critical observa-

The synod
proves in-
effectual.

sity : “ Bid hysbys a diogel i
“ chwi ein bod ni oll, un ac
“ arall, yn ufydd ac yn os-
“ tyngedig i Eglwys Duw, ac
“ i'r Pab o Rufain ac i bob
“ cywir Gristion duwiol, i garu
“ pawb yn ei radd mewn cariad
“ perffaith ; ac i helpio pawb
“ o honynt ar air a gweithred
“ i fod yn blant i Dduw : ac
“ amgenach ufydd-dod no hwn
“ nid adwaen i fod i'r neb yr
“ ydych chwi yn ei enwi yn

“ Bâb, neu yn Dad o dadau i'w
“ gleimioaci'wofyn. A'rufydd-
“ dod hwn yr ydym ni yn bar-
“ od i'w roddi ac i'w dalu
“ iddo ef ac i bob Cristion yn
“ dragwyddol. Hefyd yr ydym
“ ni dan lywodraeth esgob
“ Caerllion ar Wysg, yr hwn
“ y sydd yn olygwr, dan Dduw,
“ arnom ni i wneuthyd i ni
“ gadw'r ffordd ysbrydol.”]

° Bede's Hist. Eccl. ib.

A. D. 601. tion of Easter. But yet they could not *absque suorum consensu ac licentia*, without the national consent of their own people, and principal elders therein, renounce their ancient customs to embrace new practices. Indeed, as for their submitting to Augustine's jurisdiction, they apprehended it unsafe for the present, and mischievous for the future, having another civil government under kings of their own, and suspecting his spiritual power might in process of time intrench upon their temporal liberty.

The dialogue between the British bishops and the ancho-
ret.

6. Departing hence, the Britons repaired to an aged anchoret, charactered by Beda to be *sanctus et prudens*, "holy and wise," (and none would wish his counsellor better qualified,) and craved his advice how hereafter they should behave themselves in the next synod, wherein they had promised to give Augustine a meeting: which out of our author may thus be dialogue-wise digested.

British Bishops. Anchoret.

Brit. B. Are we bound to desert our traditions at the preaching of Augustine?

Anch. If he be a man of God, follow him.

Brit. B. But how shall we be able to make trial thereof?

Anch. The Lord saith, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek, and lowly in heart*^o. If therefore this Augustine be mild, and humble in heart, it is credible that he himself beareth the yoke of Christ, and tendereth the same to be borne of you: but if he be cruel and proud, it appeareth that he is not of God, neither ought ye to heed what he saith.

Brit. B. But how shall we make discovery hereof?

^o Matt. xi. 29.

Anch. Contrive it so that he and his may come A. D. 601. first into the place of the synod. And if he rise up when you draw near unto him, hear him then obediently, knowing him for a servant of Christ: but if he slighteth you, and vouchsafeth not to rise up unto you, seeing you are mo in number, let him be slighted by you.

Armed with these instructions, the British bishops advance to the second synod: where Augustine, pontifically sitting in his chair, at their entrance, entertained them only with neglect and contempt; which by the Britons was accordingly requited.

7. Herein that stately prelate forgot St. Gregory's Proud Dio-
trephes
Augustine.
precept to him; Not to proceed too rigorously in the alteration of ceremonies, but to allow a latitude according to time and place^P. Oh for a little in him of St. Paul's temper, who was *made all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some*^Q. Had Augustine's joints been supplied with the oil of humility, one bended knee might probably have bowed many hearts unto him; whereas now he lost their affections. Pride being an unwinning quality, rendering the proud party scorned by his betters, hated by his equals, feared, perchance, by his inferiors, but loved by none. Had not he, who is said to have cured the blind, need to have his own eyes opened herein? Who, though he be commonly called Augustine the Less, in distinction from his namesake, father St. Augustine of Hippo, yet may be allowed Augustine the Great, if a measure be taken from the dimensions of his pride and haughtiness.

8. We pass now from this Augustine's pride to Augustine's
prophecy.

^P See his answer to Augustine's third question. [Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 27.]
^Q 1 Cor. ix. 22.

A. D. 601. his prophecy; who enraged at the British bishops, for denying subjection unto him, flatly fell a menacing them; that, seeing they would not submit to his motion, and join with him in preaching to the Saxons soon after they should feel the force of their enemies' sword, and be suddenly confounded by those whom they would not endeavour to convert. Which accordingly came to pass.

A. D. 603.
alias 605.
The massacre of the monks of Bangor.

9. For not long after, Æthelfrith, the pagan king of Northumberland, having conquered Chester, invaded Wales, and bade the Britons battle. Amongst them was a regiment of the monks of Bangor, all naked and unarmed, save with tears and prayers, whole volleys whereof they discharged to heaven for the good success of their countrymen, being all by themselves upon an advantage of ground, and one Brocmail a Briton, as captain of their lifeguard, had a company of soldiers to defend them. Æthelfrith being informed that these monks prayed against him, concluded them to be his effectual enemies, though otherwise offering him no hostility; and fiercely falling on them, put twelve hundred of them to the sword, fifty only escaping: Brocmail most basely deserting them whom he was set to defend.

Augustine suspected to be their murderer.

10. But here some birds sing a different note from the rest, which must be listened unto; namely, such authors, considerable for their number, antiquity, gravity, and learning, who accuse this Augustine for the designer of the death and destruction of these innocent British monks; so that he cunningly foretold what he himself cruelly intended to fulfil. Thus well might Jezabel, who *calleth herself a prophetess*^r, certainly foreshew the death of Naboth for denying

his vineyard to Ahab, when she had purposely A. D. 603. beforehand packed and plotted the same. An heavy accusation if true, that Augustine (to use my friend's expression*) *Gregorii vicarius* should be *gregis sicarius*; *et futuræ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conversor*, should be *præsentis Britannicæ eversor*; so that instead of a prophet's reward, he deserved the punishment of a murderer. But to clear this point, conceive we a grand jury of four and twenty judicious readers impannelled, before whom the memory of Augustine is indicted of murder, and witnesses produced on both sides. Let none censure me if in these proceedings my pen fails in legal formalities, such exactness not being by me intended, but only some general conformity with a law-trial, to fix the history in our fancies with more pleasure and delight†.

* Mr. Abraham Whelock, in his notes on Bede, p. 115. [ed. 1644.]

† [The words of Bede are positive, that this defeat of the Britons happened considerably after the death of St. Augustine: "Multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato." (E. H. ii. 2.) But in the year 604 St. Augustine ordained Mellitus and Justus over the province of the East-Saxons. The date of this battle must therefore be referred to the year 607, as it is in the Saxon Chronicle, or to the year 613, which Usher has adopted, following the Ulster Chronicles, Antiq. E. B. p. 536. This is also confirmed by the testimony of Florence of Worcester, a writer of extreme accuracy, especially in all questions relating to the chronology of our early history, thus nar-

rating, by anticipation, in the year 603, this victory of Æthel-frith. "Is etiam longo post tempore collecto exercitu ad civitatem Legionum, quæ a Brytonibus Carlegion appellatur, divino agente judicio, ut beatus prædixerat Augustinus archiepiscopus, ex Brytonum sacerdotibus, qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente convenerant, mille ducentos prius extinxit." This charge against St. Augustine was first propagated, and probably forged by Geoffry of Monmouth, who has in this, as in several other instances, confounded the customs of ancient with modern times. In the first place, St. Augustine himself never moved so far northward as Northumberland. His ecclesiastical influence and authority extended little fur-

A. D. 603.

Witnesses
produced
against
him.

11. The bill first was solemnly read, running to this effect, "That Augustine the monk, commonly called the English apostle, not having the fear of God before his eyes, out of forethought malice, feloniously did plot, project, and contrive the murder of twelve hundred monks at Bangor, by soliciting Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, to move Æthelfrith, the pagan king of Northumberland, with force of arms to kill and slay the monks aforesaid, &c." An accusation so heinous, that at first it filled the whole jury with silence, horror, and amazement; till afterwards they recollected themselves to attend unto the following witnesses.

i. Jeffery Monmouth, whose Welsh blood was up,

ther than the kingdom of Kent; what influence could he have over a king whom he never saw, perhaps never heard of, and who certainly was wholly ignorant of Christianity? Besides, Æthelfrith was continually engaged in war either with the Scots or the Britons, and needed no such motive to induce him to attack them. The words of Malmsbury, a writer of great judgment and fidelity, make this more apparent; for mentioning the wars in which Æthelfrith was engaged, as proofs of his great courage and success, he observes; "Testis est Legionum civitas, quæ nunc simpliciter Cestra vocatur, quæque ad id temporis a Britannis possessa, contumacis in regem populi alebat superbiam. Ad cujus oppugnationem cum intendisset animus, oppidani qui omnia per-

"peti quam obsidionem mal-
"lent, simul et numero con-
"fusi, effuse in bellum ruunt;
"quos ille insidiis exceptos
"fudit fugavitque, prius in
"monachos debacchatus, qui
"pro salute exercitus suppli-
"caturi frequentes convene-
"rant. Quorum incredibilem
"nostra ætate numerum fuisse
"indicio sunt in vicino cæno-
"bio tot semirutæ parietes ec-
"clesiarum, tot anfractus por-
"ticum, tanta turba rudium,
"quantum vix alibi cernas."
Malmsb. De Gestis Reg. f. 8.
And after all St. Augustine did not state that the Britons should be destroyed at Bangor, but that if they refused to be at peace with the Saxons they should be destroyed by them. Considering the state of the island at that time, it required no great foresight to predict such an event.]

as concerned in the cause of his countrymen; A. D. 603.
 "Ethelbert king of Kent," said he, "when he saw
 "the Britons disdaining to yield subjection to Au-
 "gustine, and that they scorned to be subject to
 "himself, stirred up the Northumberlanders, and
 "other Saxon princes, that gathering a great army
 "against the city of Bangor, they should go forth to
 "destroy the abbot Dionoth, and the other clergy
 "who had formerly slighted them^u."

ii. Thomas Gray, an old chronicler, (as it is written
 in French,) brought in this evidence, "that Augustine
 "being refused of the Christian Britons, inflamed
 "Ethelbertus king of Kent to levy his power, and to
 "war against them, himself being also in company,
 "(as in the old abstract of chronicles is recorded,)
 "and marching with him towards the slaughter,
 "where they had no more regard of mercy than a
 "wolf hath upon a sheep^w."

iii. Nicholas Trivet, a Dominican, who wrote some
 three hundred years since, deposed, "that Æthel-
 "byrht king of Kent, being highly offended, incited
 "Æthelfrith king of Northumberland, and other
 "petty Saxon kings, because they had contemned
 "Augustine in the council, &c.^x"

iv. Essebiensis Monachus, commenting on those
 words of Merlin, *delebitur iterum religio*, "religion
 "shall again be destroyed," thus expoundeth them;

^u Manuscript. in pub. Lib.
 Cantab. p. 167, [quoted by
 Whelock, ib. See Monmouth,
 De Gestis, p. 93.]

^w Cited in Jewel's Apolog.
 part i. chap. ii. p. 11. [ed. fol.
 1609. This Chronicle, with
 the exception of the earlier

portion of it, embracing the
 period antecedent to the con-
 quest, has been edited by Jos.
 Stevenson, esq., and published
 by the Maitland Club, 1836.]

^x Spelman's Conc. I. 111.
 [Wilkins, I. 27.]

A. D. 603. "This was afterwards fulfilled, either by Gormund
 " or by Augustine, who caused twelve hundred
 " monks to be slain at Bangor in Wales, because
 " they obeyed him not in a council⁷."

These testimonies much moved the jury²; who, notwithstanding, reserved their other ear, as it became honest men, to hearken to the depositions in Augustine's behalf.

Testimonies in his behalf.

12. Amongst these that of Bede was most material: *Sicque completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverant*^a. Which words (for it is seasonably remembered all pleas must now be in English) may thus be translated; "And so the prophecy of holy bishop Augustine was fulfilled, (although himself long before that was taken out of this life to the kingdom of heaven,) that also the treacherous people might feel the revenge of temporal ruin, because they had despised the counsels of eternal salvation offered unto them."

The paragraph in Bede's testimony questioned.

13. Much difference arose hereabouts; the rather, because some urged that parenthesis ("although himself long before," &c.) to have been studiously interpolated in Bede, on purpose for the purgation of Augustine by some in afterages that favoured him; alleging that it is not in the ancient Saxon copies,

⁷ MS. in Bennet Coll. librar. Camb. [quoted by Whelock, *ib.*]

² [All these authorities might be reduced to one, Geoffry of

Monmouth, whom the others implicitly followed.]

^a Hist. Eccl. ii. 2. ed. Whelochiana.

being put in as *a piece of new cloth into an old garment*, with intent to *fill it up*, but in event *making it worse*; because this passage checketh the pen of Bede in the full speed thereof (no less against the rules of history than of horsemanship) as he was writing the life of Augustine, the story whereof notwithstanding still runs on, and continues until the end of the next chapter^b. Here some of the jury betook themselves to the point of chronology, as most proper to decide the matter now depending; but such was the variety of authors, that no certainty could thence be extracted. For though the massacre of the monks of Bangor is generally noted to be anno 603^c, which falls out before the death of Augustine, yet the Annals of Ulster, whose authority is not to be contemned, observe the same in the year 613^d, which undoubtedly was after Augustine's decease.

14. Then a second sort of witnesses presented themselves, as M. Parker^e, bishop Jewel^f, and others, somewhat sharp against Augustine in their expressions; which wrought the less with the jury, partly because of such authors their known oppo-

Mr. Fox
his mode-
ration much
moveth the
jury.

^b [In all the MSS. which Dr. Smith consulted for his edition of Bede, this clause is to be found, as also in the three which Whelock used for his edition. I have myself consulted several MSS. in order to ascertain the authenticity of the passage, but with the same result; in none was the passage wanting or interpolated. Upon this point indeed the authority of the Saxon translation is of little weight; for it varies materially in other passages from

the original, omitting some and adding others.]

^c Matt. West. [in an. 603. But the words of this writer imply that this attack on the monks of Bangor happened after this year: "Non multo post," &c.] Chichestr. MS. Bibl. pub. Cantabrig. [quoted by Whelock, ib.]

^d Usher, Brit. Antiq. p. 1157=536.

^e Antiq. Britan. p. 71.

^f Apology, ib.

A. D. 603. sition to the Romish church, and partly because of their modern writing, almost a thousand years after the matter in fact. Only the moderate testimony of reverend Mr. Fox much moved the whole court, as one thoroughly well affected in religion, and averse from all popery and cruelty, thus expressing himself: "But that seemeth rather suspicious than true, that he (Ethelbert) being a Christian king, either could so much prevail with a pagan idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed. But of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, less to judge^g." This, I say, prevailed so far with the jury, that consulting with themselves, they found an *ignoramus*. With whose commendable charity I concur; preferring rather to clear a twilight innocence into noonday, than to darken it into midnight.

The blood
of Bangor
monks re-
venged.

15. To return to the monks of Bangor. Their innocent blood went not long unrevenge^d: for we find recorded^h, how three British princes, namely, Blederick duke of Cornwall, Margaduc duke of South-Wales, and Cadwan, duke of North-Wales, bade battle to the Northumberlanders as they were invading Wales, and not only dangerously wounded the aforesaid Æthelfrith their king, but also discomfited his army, and slew ten thousand and sixty of his soldiers, forcing him at last to articles of composition; that he should confine himself within his own country, north of Trent, and leave all Wales to be entirely and peaceably enjoyed by the Britons, the true owners thereof.

^g Martyrology, I. 154. ed. 1641.

^h Trivet, in Spelman's Concil. ib. [See Wilkins, i. 27.

But this defeat is altogether unnoticed by writers of any creditable authority.]

16. However here, to our great grief, we are fain A. D. 603. to take our farewell, for some hundreds of years, of Farewell taken for some years of the British church. the British church, wanting instructions concerning the remarkable particulars thereof. Yet Dr. Harpsfield deserves a check, both for his false groundwork, and presumptuous inference built thereupon¹. For first, he slighteth the British nation, as such an one, as since this their dissenting from Augustine, and the Romish church in ceremonies, never achieved any actions of renown, or mounted to any eminency in the world. Then he imputeth their being so long depressed, and at last subdued by the English, as a just punishment of God, on their not complying with Rome: so pragmatical a prier he is into divine secrets. But he who thus casteth forth a national abuse, can never see where such a stone lighteth; for (besides the nation for the time being) their posterity engaged therein have just cause either to find or make reparation to themselves. I could, and would myself assert the British from his scandalous pen, were it not against the rules of manners and discretion, to take this office out of the hands of some of their own nation, for whom it is more proper, as they are more able to perform it.

17. Only give me leave to insert a line or two Commendation of the British language. (some pleasant discourse will not do amiss after so much sad matter) in commendation of the British tongue, and vindication thereof, against such as causelessly traduce it. First, their language is native. It was one of those which departed from Babel: and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate author thereof; whereas most tongues in

¹ Hist. Eccles. Angl. sec. vii. c. 39. p. 114.

A.D. 603. Europe owe their beginning to human depraving of some original language. Thus the Italian, Spanish, and French, daughters or nieces to the Latin, are generated from the corruption thereof. Secondly, unmixed. For though it hath some few foreign words, and useth them sometimes, yet she rather accepteth them out of state than borroweth them out of need, as having besides these, other words of her own to express the same things. Yea, the Romans were so far from making the Britons to do, that they could not make them to speak as they would have them: their very language never had a perfect conquest in this island. Thirdly, unaltered. Other tongues are daily disguised with foreign words, so that in a century of years they grow strangers to themselves: as now an Englishman needs an interpreter to understand Chaucer's English. But the British continues so constant to itself, that the prophecies of old Taliesin (who lived above a thousand years since) are at this day intelligible in that tongue. Lastly, durable; which had its beginning at the confusion of tongues, and is likely not to have its ending till the dissolution of the world.

Causelessly
translated by
ignorance.

18. Some indeed inveigh against it, as being hard to be pronounced, having a conflux of many consonants, and some of them double-sounded; yea, whereas the mouth is the place wherein the office of speech is generally kept, the British words must be uttered through the throat. But this rather argues the antiquity thereof, herein running parallel with the Hebrew, (the common tongue of the old world, before it was enclosed into several languages,) and hath much affinity therewith, in jointing of words with affixes, and many other correspondencies. Some

also cavil, that it grates and tortures the ears of hearers with the harshness thereof; whereas indeed it is unpleasant only to such as are ignorant of it. And thus every tongue seems stammering which is not understood; yea, Greek itself is barbarism to barbarians. Besides, what is nicknamed harshness therein, maketh it indeed more full, stately, and masculine. But such is the epicurism of modern times, to addulce all words to the ear, that (as in the French) they melt out, in pronouncing, many essential letters, taking out all the bones to make them bend the better in speaking: and such hypocrites in their words speak them not truly in their native strength, as the plaindealing British do, which pronounce every letter therein more manly, if less melodious. Lastly, some condemn it unjustly as a worthless tongue, because leading to no matter of moment; and who will care to carry about that key which can unlock no treasure? But this is false; that tongue affording monuments of antiquity, some being left, though many be lost; and mo had been extant but for want of diligence in seeking, and carefulness in preserving them.

19. But, craving pardon of the reader for this digression, we reassume our Augustine, who all this while was very industrious, and no less successful in converting the Saxons to the Christian faith. Inso-much that a certain author reporteth^k, how in the river Swale near Richmond in Yorkshire^l, Augustine

Augustine
baptizeth
10,000 in
one day.

^k Cited by Mr. Camden, preface of Brit. p. 98.

^l [Dr. Heylyn makes the following remarks upon this passage. "The 'certain author' whom he means is an old

" fragment of a nameless author cited by Camden, fol. 136 [p. 98.], who tells the story otherwise than our author doth. For though the fragment tells us that the

A. D. 693. on one day baptized above ten thousand; adding withal, that the people not only passed without danger through so deep a river, but also they who were sick and deformed when they went in, were whole and handsome when they came forth again^m. The judicious reader may in this miracle discover how the author thereof (no doubt some ignorant monk) hath therein jumbled and confounded three distinct scripture histories, to make a mock parallel betwixt the rivers Jordan and Swale; borrowing

1. The people's safe passing through it, from Joshua's conducting the Israelites through Jordanⁿ.

2. Their being baptized in it, from John's baptizing the Jews in Jordan^o.

3. The curing of their infirmities by it, from Elisha's healing Naaman's leprosy in Jordan^p.

But here it must be remembered, that Bede maketh no mention at all hereof, and ascribeth this numerous baptizing to Paulinus archbishop of York many years after. It would argue too much morosity in us, to demur in our faith to the whole fact, till authors are all agreed about the doer thereof.

" river was called Swale, yet
 " that it was the river Swale
 " near Richmond in Yorkshire
 " is the addition of our au-
 " thor."—— " I shall concur
 " with the old fragment as to
 " the name of the river, and
 " yet not carry Austin out of
 " Kent, and much less into
 " Richmondshire to perform
 " that office. For when we
 " find in Camden that the
 " Medway falling into the
 " Thames is divided by the
 " Isle of Sheppey into two

" great branches, of which the
 " one is called East-Swale, the
 " other West-Swale, I see no
 " reason why we should look
 " elsewhere for the river Swale
 " mentioned in the old frag-
 " ment." Camden in Kent,
 fol. 333. [p. 236.] Examen
 Historicum, p. 33.

^m Porter's Flowers of the
 Saints, p. 515.

ⁿ Jos. iv. 1.

^o Matt. iii. 6.

^p 2 Kings v. 14.

For mine own part, I conceive Paulinus the more A. D. 603. probable person, as questioning whether Augustine, most conversant amongst the South and West-Saxons, ever moved so far northward¹.

20. And if so many were baptized in one day, it The simplicity of ancient baptism. appears plainly that in that age the administration of that sacrament was not loaded with those superstitious ceremonies, as essential thereunto, of crossing, spittle, oil, cream, salt, and such like trinkets; which protestants generally as little know what they are, as papists why they use them. I say, in that age nothing was used with baptism but baptism; the word and the water made the sacrament. Yea, the archbishop is said to have "commanded by the "voice of criers, that the people should enter the "river confidently, two by two, and, in the name of "the Trinity, baptize one another by turns^r." This, indeed, was the most compendious way; otherwise Joshua's day, wherein the sun stood still, had been too short for one man's personal performance of such an employment.

21. Another considerable accession was made to The idol Heale destroyed by Augustine at Cern. Christianity in the south-west part of this isle, and particularly in Dorsetshire; where Augustine at Cern destroyed the idol of Heale, or Æsculapius, which the Saxons formerly adored^s. But in his journey hither, (reader, they are not mine, but my

¹ [Dr. Smith inclines to this opinion. See his Appendix to Bede, c. viii. p. 693. No mention of this circumstance occurs in the earlier and more authentic writers; as Bede, the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester; nor in the life of

St. Augustine written by Goscelinus between the 11th and 12th centuries, and published by Wharton in the Ang. Sacr. II. 56.]

^r Camden, ib.

^s Camden's Brit. in Dorsetshire, [p. 155.]

A.D. 603. author's words,) "with his holy company,—being
 "cruelly oppressed with the three familiar discom-
 "modities of travellers, hunger, thirst, and wear-
 "ness;"—Augustine, "striking his staff into the
 "ground, there straight sprung forth a clear fountain
 "of crystal streams, in which all his fellows quenched
 "the extremity of their thirst. And the same place
 "was afterward called Cernel, a name composed of
 "Latin and Hebrew; for *cerno* in Latin, signifies
 "to see, and *el* in Hebrew, signifies *God*†." A compo-
 sition of a name hardly to be preceded, that a
 word should commence *per saltum* from Latin into
 Hebrew without taking Greek by the way thereof.
 Why not rather *Cernwell*, "Behold the fountain;" or
Cernheal, "See the destruction of the idol?" But in
 truth, in all books ancient and modern^v, the place is
 plainly written Cerne, without any paralogical appo-
 sition thereunto.

A ridicu-
 lous mira-
 cle.

22. Indeed, most of the miracles assigned unto
 this Augustine, intended with their strangeness to
 raise and heighten, with their levity and absurdity
 do depress and offend true devotion. Witness, how
 when the villagers in Dorsetshire beat Augustine
 and his fellows, and in mockery fastened fish-tails at
 their backs, in punishment hereof, "all that gene-
 "ration had that given them by nature, which so
 "contemptibly they fastened on the backs of these
 "holy men^w." Fie for shame! he needs an hard
 place on his face that reports it, and a soft place in
 his head that believes it.

† H. Porter's *Flowers of the Saints*, p. 516. [But this etymology, as well as the legend below, are from *Malmsbury*, f. 142, b.]

^v So both in *Camden, Brit. ibid.*, and *Harpfeld, Hist. Eccl.* p. 753.

^w H. Porter's *Flowers of the Saints*, p. 515.

23. However, for the main, we undoubtedly believe that the preaching of Augustine and his fellows took good effect, finding the visible progress and the improvement thereof, in the conversion of so many from paganism to Christianity. For Sæbyrht king of Essex (nephew to Æthelbyrht king of Kent, by Ricola his sister) embraced the faith^x, with all his kingdom, by the ministry of Mellitus, whom Augustine ordained bishop of London; much about the same time making one Justus a Roman (who was *vir sui nominis*, a man answering his name) bishop of Rochester. Many other remarkable matters happened in the life of Augustine, especially those questions and answers which passed betwixt him and Gregory the Great, by us purposely omitted, partly because they are too voluminous to insert, and partly because they are at large in many authors, to whom we remit the reader^y.

24. And now was the time come of Augustine's dissolution, whose body was buried in the northern porch of the new church in Canterbury, dedicated to Peter and Paul, having, as Bede informs us^z, this inscription written upon his monument; "Here resteth lord Augustine the first archbishop of Canterbury; who being in times past sent hither from blessed Gregory, bishop of the Roman city, and supported of God by the working of miracles, brought king Ethelbert and his country, from the

A.D. 60
The great
improvement of the
gospel.

610,
alias 611.
alias 612.
Augustine
death and
epitaph.

^x [In 604, the same year in which Mellitus and Justus were ordained, Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 3. Saxon Chron., and Flor. Wigorn. in an. 604. The kingdom of the East-Saxons, which Fuller calls Essex, in-

cluded Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire.]

^y Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 27. Fox's Book of Martyrs, i. 150, and others.

^z Eccl. Hist. ii. 3.

A.D. 610. “ worshipping of idols to the faith of Christ: and
 “ the days of his office being finished in peace, he
 “ died the seventh of the calends of June, the same
 “ king reigning.”

The date of
 the year,
 how want-
 ing therein.

25. But in this epitaph one thing is wanting, and that mainly material; namely, the year when he died. Strangely is that watch contrived, and is generally useless, which shews the minute of the hour, not the hour of the day. As this epitaph points at the day, of smaller consequence, leaving out the year, of greater concernment. This hath put men's fancies on various conjectures. Some make it a mere omission of Bede: which notwithstanding is very strange, because otherwise he is most critical and punctual in the notation of time. Others conceive it a fault of commission, in some of after-ages, who purposely expunged the year, (beshrew their fingers that thrust out the eyes, the date of this epitaph,) lest the same should make too clear discoveries of Augustine's surviving after the massacre of the monks of Bangor, which would increase the suspicion of his having a finger therein. Others place the neglect in the monument-maker, and not in Bede; seeing he was but the bare relater of the epitaph, and therefore loath to add or alter any thing thereof. Perchance the tomb-maker registered the day, as a nicety most likely to be forgotten, omitting the year, as a thing generally, universally, and notoriously known, all men keeping a record thereof, which in process of time became wholly forgotten. Thus those things are not long effectually kept by any which are equally to be kept by all, and not charged on any one man's particular account. Sure I am, the setting up of this

landmark, the noting of the year of his death, had A.D. 610. given excellent direction to such as travel in the Saxon chronology, who now wander at random for the want of it^a.

26. And now we take our farewell of Augustine, ^{Farewell to St. Augustine.} of whom we give this character. He found here a plain religion (simplicity is the badge of antiquity) practised by the Britons, living some of them in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance of worldly vanities, in a barren country: and surely piety is most healthful in those places where it can least surfeit of earthly pleasures. He brought in a religion spun with a coarser thread, though guarded with a finer trimming, made luscious to the senses with pleasing ceremonies; so that many, who could not judge of the goodness, were courted with the gaudiness thereof. Indeed the papists brag that he was the apostle of the English; but not one in the style of St. Paul, *neither from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ*^b; being only a derivative apostle, sent by the second hand: in which sense also he was not our sole apostle; though he first put in his sickle, others reaped down more of the English har-

^a [The date of St. Augustine's death ought probably to be fixed at an earlier period than the year 610. For in that year Mellitus brought letters from pope Boniface IV., directed to archbishop Laurentius, the successor of St. Augustine. If the destruction of the monks of Bangor happened in the year 607, then the death of St. Augustine must have happened between 604 and 607. (See the previous note, p. 155.) But according

to Goscelinus, in his life of this archbishop, St. Augustine appointed Laurentius his successor the same year in which he died. Vita August. ch. 38. Angl. Sacr. II. p. 70. So also the annals of Rochester, in the Ang. Sacr. I. 85. Little doubt therefore can exist but that St. Augustine died in 604, to which opinion Wharton entirely inclines. See his masterly discussion of the subject in his Ang. Sacr. I. 89.]

^b Gal. i. 1.

A.D. 610. vest, propagating the gospel further, as shall appear hereafter. But because the beginnings of things are of greatest consequence, we commend his pains, condemn his pride, allow his life, approve his learning, admire his miracles, admit the foundation of his doctrine Jesus Christ; but refuse the hay and stubble he built thereupon. We are indebted to God his goodness in moving Gregory, Gregory's carefulness in sending Augustine, Augustine's forwardness in preaching here: but above all, let us bless God's exceeding great favour, that that doctrine which Augustine planted here but impure, and his successors made worse with watering, is since, by the happy reformation, cleared and refined to the purity of the scriptures.

Laurentius
succeedeth
Augustine.

27. After the death of Augustine, Laurentius a Roman succeeded him, whom Augustine in his lifetime not only designed for, but ordained in that place^c, out of his abundant caution, that the infant church might not be orphan an hour, lest Satan should assault the breach of such a vacancy, to the disadvantage of religion. Such a superordination in such cases was canonical, it being a tradition, that St. Peter in like manner consecrated Clement his successor in the church of Rome^d. And sure it is, the prophet Elijah, no doubt to his great comfort whilst living, anointed Elisha to minister in his room, in his prophetic function^e. In one respect Laurentius exceeded Augustine, that he reduced the recusant Britons and Scots (probably demeaning himself more humbly than his predecessor) to some tolerable conformity to the Romish

^c Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 4.

^d Ibid.

^e 1 Kings xix. 16.

ceremonies, especially in the celebration of Easter. A.D. 610.
 Now, seeing frequent mention hath formerly been made of the difference between the Romish and British churches, in observation of that festival; we will endeavour, as truly as briefly, to state the controversy betwixt them, with arguments each side produceth in their own behalf.

28. But because the point in hand is so nice The controversy about Easter betwixt Rome and the Britons stated. (rather than necessary) that a little variation therein may be material, I will carefully follow the truest copy I can get, in stating the question, taking it from a learned pen^f exactly skilled therein.

“ The Romans kept
 “ Easter upon that Sunday
 “ which fell betwixt the 15th and
 “ 21st day of the moon^g (both
 “ terms included) next after the

“ The Britons kept
 “ Easter upon the Sun-
 “ day that fell betwixt the
 “ 14th and 20th day of the
 “ moon, following in their

^f James Usher, in the Religion of the ancient Irish, p. 66. [This was first published at the end of a treatise entitled, “ A friendly advertisement to the pretended Catholics of Ireland, by Christoph. Sibthorp, knight, one of his majesty’s justices for Ireland.” 4°. 1622. It contains much research upon the doctrine and practice of the early church of Ireland, much illustration of the state of religion among the Britons. Besides Usher, Dr. Smith, in his Appendix to Bede, has devoted several pages to the examination of this intricate controversy. In the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, is also preserved a paper of considerable length, by the celebrated mathematician Dr. Wallis, on the same subject.

In this observation of Easter (as well as in other points) the Britons followed the eastern churches. A dispute on the same subject also existed among the Spaniards and the Franks. The latter observing its celebration on the 18th of April, the former on the 21st of March. The Romans professed to follow the order of the Nicene council in their celebration of Easter; but as they reckoned by the moon and the golden numbers, it not unfrequently happened that they fell into that very error which they wished to avoid. See also archbishop Parker’s Antiq. 585. Usher, Antiq. p. 485 sq.]

^g Hence is it that Beza tartly termeth the controversy *lunatica questio*.

A.D. 610. " 21st day of March, which they " account thereof, not the
 " accounted to be the seat of the " nineteen years' computa-
 " vernal equinoctial. And in " tion of Anatolius, but
 " reckoning the age of the moon, " Sulpitius Severus his cir-
 " they followed the Alexandrian " cle of eighty-four years."
 " cycle of 19 years, as it was ex-
 " plained unto them by Dionysius
 " Exiguus."

It is enough to prove the practice of Rome was the right, that it was the practice of Rome; yea, did it not deserve the stab of excommunication, for any dissenting from her practice, tantamountingly to give her the lie? However, it seems the reputation of Rome's infallibility was yet in the nonage thereof, that the British durst so boldly differ from them, without danger of damnation.

The Bri-
 tons their
 plea.

29. Yea, they pretended ancient tradition on their side, from the primitive times, derived from St. John himself; as by the ensuing verses (which we thought fit to translate) may appear:

Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,
 Discipulo Eusebii^h Polycarpo dante Johannis.
 Ille etenim bis septenæ sub tempore Phœbæ
 Sanctum præfixit nobis fore pascha colendum,
 Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentitⁱ.

No writings fond we follow, but do hold
 Our country course, which Polycarp of old,
 Scholar to blessed John, to us hath given.
 For he, when the moon had finish'd days twice seven,
 Bade us to keep the holy paschal time,
 And count dissenting for an heinous crime.

Time was, when once the activity of Peter and John

^h I. e. sancti, vel beati.

lon in Acta SS. Benedictin.

ⁱ Fridgodus in the life of sœc. iii. part. 1. p. 176. ed. Wilfrid, [published by Mabil- Paris. 1672.]

with holy zeal was excellently employed, contending A. D. 610.
 in a race which should first come to the grave of
 our Saviour¹: but see here the Romans and the
 Britons, the pretended followers of these two apo-
 stles, not running, but wrestling in a violent con-
 tention who should most truly observe the resur-
 rection of Christ out of his grave.

30. Strange, that so good and wise men should
 thus fall out about the mint and cummin of religion,
 a ceremony not at all decided in scripture. It is to
 be feared, that the *when* marred the *how* of Easter;
 and the controversy about the time spoiled a more
 material circumstance, of the manner of keeping
 this feast; these opposite parties scarce being mutu-
 ally in charity at the receiving of the sacrament, at
 that solemn festival kept among the Jews with un-
 leavened bread, celebrated among Christians with
 so much leaven (sour and swelling) of anger and
 passion. The best is, for the present Laurentius A. D. 613.
 composed the quarrel, and brought both Britons
 and Scots^m, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland, to
 comply with the Romans therein. But as every
 small wrench, or stepping awry, is enough to put an
 ill-set bone out of joint, so each petty animosity
 was great enough to discompose this agreement.
 But enough of this controversy for the present, we
 shall meet it too soon again; which, like a restless
 ghost, will haunt our English history for more than
 an hundred and fifty years together.

31. Only I will add, that although about Augus- The anti-
 tine's time this controversy was then most height- quity of this
 ened and inflamed, yet an old grudge it was long difference.

¹ John xx. 4.

^m Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 4.

A.D. 613. before betwixt the Romans and Britons. For, if old Taliesin (styled chief of bards by the Britons) lived (as Pitseus, a catholic writer will have itⁿ) in the year 540, and if the following verses be Taliesin's, as it is undoubtedly believed^o, then this difference was on foot fifty years before Augustine came into England.

*Gwae offeiriad byd
Nys engreiffia gwyl
Ac ny phregetha :
Gwae ny cheidw cy gail
Ac ef yn vugail
Ac nys areilia :
Gwae ny cheidw cy dheuaid
Rhac bleidhiau Rhufeniaid
Ai ffon gnwppa.*

Woe be to that priest yborn
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among :
Woe be to that shepherd (I say)
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong.
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep
With staff and weapon strong^p.

These words, "from Romish wolves," relate to the vigilancy of the British pastors to keep their people from Rome's infection in these points. Thus, whilst the Britons accounted the Romans wolves, and the

ⁿ De Britan. Scriptoribus,
p. 95.

^o Chron. of Wales, p. 254.

^p [Archbishop Usher, from whom Fuller quotes these lines, comes to a far more probable conclusion, that they were written "after the coming of

" Austin the monk into Eng-
" land, and not fifty or sixty
" years before, as others have
" imagined." See Religion of
the ancient Irish, p. 80. The
translation is by Humphrey
Lloyd.]

Romans held the Britons to be goats, what became of Christ's little flock of sheep the whiles? The best is, the good God, we hope, will be merciful in his sentence on men, though passionate men be merciless in their censures on one another. A.D. 613

32. To return to Laurentius. The great joy for the agreement made by him was quickly abated with grief, at the death of king Æthelbyrht^q: who having reigned fifty-six, and been a Christian one and twenty years, was buried nigh to his good wife, queen Bertha, who died a little before him, in the porch of St. Martin's church in Canterbury; which fabric, with some other churches, by him were beautifully built, and bountifully endowed. In Æthelbyrht's grave was buried much of the Kentish Christianity: for Eadbald his son both refused his father's religion, and wallowing in sensuality, was guilty of that sin *not so much as named amongst the Gentiles*, in keeping his father's second wife. Such as formerly had took up Christianity, as the court fashion, now left it; and whom Æthelbyrht's smiles had made converts, Eadbald's frowns quickly made apostates. Yea, at the same time (so infectious are the bare examples of great men) the three sons of the king of the East-Saxons fell back to paganism^r. These refused to be baptized, and yet in derision demanded of the bishop Mellitus to receive the eucharist; which he flatly denied them, baptism being an introductory sacrament, and it being un-

A.D. 616
The death
of Æthel-
byrht, and
decay of
Christian-
ity.

^q Feb. 24. [Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 5. Malmsh. De Gestis Reg. f. 4, b.]

^r [They had always continued pagans, but their father Saberct having died the same

year with Æthelbyrht, they succeeded and encouraged idolatry. Their names were Serred, Siward, and Sigebert. See Bede, ib. Flor. Wigorn. in 616. Parker, Antiq. p. 75.]

A. D. 616. lawful to break into the church without going through this porch. Yet they gave Mellitus fair warning, and free leave to depart; who coming into Kent, held there a council with Laurentius and Justus what was best to be done. At last they concluded that it was in vain prodigally to lose their pains here, which they might expend with more profit in their own country: and seeing martyrdom, as it is not cowardly to be declined, so it is not ambitiously to be affected; they resolved to go the way which Divine providence directed them, and to return into France: which Mellitus and Justus did accordingly.

Mellitus
and Justus
their de-
parture de-
fended.

33. Was this well done of them, to leave their charge? Did not God place them sentinels in his church, and could they come off from their duty before they were relieved by order? But surely their ill-usage was an interpretative discharge unto them. In warrant whereof we have not only Christ's precept, to leave the unworthy house with a witness, namely, with the dust of our feet shaken off as a testimony against it^a, but also his practice, going from the Gadarenes, when they desired he should *depart their coasts*^t. Indeed, the word of life is a quick commodity, and ought not, as a drug, to be obtruded on those chapmen who are unwilling to buy it; yea, in whose nostrils the very savour of life unto life doth stink, because proffered unto them.

Laurentius,
intending
to depart,
rebuked.

34. Laurentius entertained the like resolution of departure; when, lying on his bed, St. Peter is said to have taken him to task in a vision^u. Yea, St.

^a Matt. x. 14.

^t Matt. viii. 34, and ix. 1.

^u Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 6.

Peter was not only seen, but felt, sharply and soundly A. D. 616. whipping him, for his unworthy intention to forsake his flock ; who rather should have followed St. Peter's example, as he imitated Christ's, whom no losses or crosses could so deter, as to desert his charge. Some will say, Peter herein appeared a partial parent, so severely disciplining this his son, whilst two other of his children, being more guilty, Mellitus and Justus, who had actually done what Laurentius only designed, escaped without any correction. But we must know, though these seemed more faulty by what appears in open view, yet the passages behind the curtain (considerables concealed from us) might much alter the case. And indeed, pastors leaving their people is so ticklish a point, and subject to such secret circumstances, that God and their own consciences are only the competent judges of the lawfulness or unlawfulness thereof.

35. Thus, all black and blue, Laurentius repaireth Eadbald becomes a Christian. to Eadbald king of Kent, and presenteth himself unto him in that sad condition. The king, much amazed thereat, demands who durst offer such violence to so good a man ? Whereby it plainly appears, that though Eadbald himself refused Christianity, yet he afforded civility and protection to Laurentius, and to all in Kent of his religion. He largely relates what had happened unto him, and in fine so prevailed on Eadbald, that he not only put away his wife-mother-whore, but also embraced Christianity, and at his desire Justus and Mellitus returned again into England.

36. Rochester readily received Justus their bishop, A. D. 618. being a little place, of few persons, and they there- Justus received at Rochester, fore the easier all to be brought to be of one mind.

A.D. 618. But large London (though then, for greatness, but the suburbs to the present city) I say, London then, was even London then, as wanton in the infancy, as now wayward in the old age thereof; where generally the people, long radicated in wickedness, refused to entertain their good pastor returning unto them. But here my good friend^u, in his notes on this passage, makes an ingenious reservation, that (though the major part must be confessed peevish in all populous places) London in all ages afforded eminent favourers of learned and religious men. And would I could, being the meanest of ministers^w, as truly entitle myself to the foresaid qualifications, as I heartily concur with him in my grateful confession, that I have effectually found plenty of good patrons in that honourable corporation. Mellitus thus rejected, was glad to lead a private life in London, till that after the death of Laurentius^x, he succeeded him in the church of Canterbury.

Mellitus his character..

37. A grave and good man, but much afflicted with the gout, and highly meriting of his see of Canterbury; especially if true what Bede reports^y, that when a grievous fire happened in that city, Mellitus accosted the very fury thereof with faithful prayer and his own bare hands, (strange! that no modern monk hath since in his relation put a crucifix or holy-water-sprinkle into them,) and so presently quenched the raging of the flames. Say not, why could he not as easily have cured his own gout as quenched this fire? seeing miracles are done, not for

^u Mr. Whelock on the place in Bede.

^w [He was minister of the Savoy.]

^x Feb. 2, 619. [See Whar-

ton's Angl. Sac. I. 91. Florence of Worcester places his death in the year 621.]

^y Hist. Eccl. ii. 7.

men's ordinary ease, but God's solemn honour. Yea, A.D. 618. the apostles themselves were not at pleasure masters of their miraculous power for their personal use, seeing St. Paul could neither cure the *often infirmities* of his dear son Timothy^z, nor remove the acute desperate disease wherewith he himself in Asia was afflicted^a. Five years sat Mellitus in Canterbury: after whose death^b Justus bishop of Rochester succeeded him, and had his pall solemnly sent him by pope Boniface^c.

38. By the way, the pall is a pontifical vestment, ^{What a pall is.} considerable for the matter, making, and mysteries thereof. For the matter, it is made of lambs' wool and superstition. I say, of lambs' "wool, as it comes "from the sheep's back without any other artificial "colour," spun, say some, by a peculiar order of nuns, "first cast into the tomb of St. Peter^d," taken from his body say others^e, surely most sacred if from both; and (superstitiously) "adorned with little "black crosses." For the form thereof; "in breadth "not exceeding three fingers," (one of our bachelor's lamb-skin hoods in Cambridge would make three of them,) having "two labels hanging down before and "behind^f," which the archbishops only, when going to the altar, put about their necks, above their other pontifical ornaments. Three mysteries were couched therein. First, humility, which beautifies the clergy above all their costly copes. Secondly, innocency, to imitate lamb-like simplicity. And thirdly, in-

^z 1 Tim. v. 23.

^a 2 Cor. i. 8.

^b April 24, 624.

^c [Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 8. See Wharton's Angl. Sac. I. 92.]

^d H. Porter's Flowers of the Saints, p. 506.

^e Camden in Kent, p. 238.

^f Flowers of the Saints, ibid.

A.D. 618. dustry, to follow him who fetched his wandering sheep home on his shoulders^s. But to speak plainly, the mystery of mysteries in this pall was, that the archbishops receiving it shewed therein their dependance on Rome; and a mote in this manner ceremoniously taken, was a sufficient acknowledgment of their subjection. And, as it owned Rome's power, so in after-ages it increased their profit. For though now such palls were freely given to archbishops, whose places in Britain for the present were rather cumbersome than commodious, having little more than their pains for their labour, yet in after-ages the archbishop of Canterbury's pall was sold for five thousand florins^h: so that the pope might well have the golden fleece, if he could sell all his lambs-wool at that rate. Only let me add, that the author of Canterbury-book styles this pall, *tanquam grande Christi sacramentum*ⁱ. It is well *tanquam* came in to help it, or else we should have had eight sacraments. But, leaving these husks to such palates as are pleased to feed on them, we come to the kernel of religion, how the same was propagated in other parts of England. And first, of the preparative for the purge of paganism out of the kingdom of Northumberland.

A. D. 624.
Edwin his
preparatory
promise to
Chris-
tianity.

39. Edwin, the king thereof, was monarch of all England, with the isles of Man and Anglesey, more puissant than any of his predecessors. And this, saith Bede^k, was *in auspiciū suscipiendæ fidei*, "in good handsell of the faith" he was hereafter to

^s Camden, ib. p. 237. Luke xv. 5.

^h Godwin de Præsul. p. 800. A florin is worth 4s. 6d.

ⁱ A manuscript in Trin. Hall library in Cambridge, quoted by Whelock on Bede, p. 99.

^k Hist. Eccl. ii. 9.

receive. God first made him great, and after gracious; that so by his power he might be the more effectual instrument of his glory. Now he had married Edelburga, daughter of Æthelbyrht king of Kent; to whom he not only permitted free exercise of religion to herself and her servants, but also promised himself to embrace it, if, on examination, it appeared the most holy, and fittest for divine service. In the court of this queen was one Paulinus, a pious bishop, who, with much pains and little profit, long laboured in vain to convert the pagans. God hereby both humbling him, and shewing that the hour of his mercy shall not be antedated one minute by any human endeavours. However, Paulinus, seeing he could not be happy to gain, would be careful to save; and daily plied the word and sacraments, thereby to corroborate his own people in piety¹.

40. Now it happened that one Eomer^m, a swash-buckler, (a contemner of his own life, and thereby master of another man's,) sent from Cuichelm, king of the West-Saxons, with an envenomed dagger sought to kill king Edwin: when Lilla, one of his guard, foreseeing the blow, and interposing himself, shielded his sovereign with his own body, yea, deaded the stroke with his own death. Loyalty's martyr; in a case which is likely to find no to commend than imitate it, on the like occasion. Edwin, notwithstanding slightly hurt, was very sensible of the deliverance, and promised, that if he might conquer the treacherous West-Saxon king, with his adherents, he would become a Christianⁿ. And though

A.D. 624.

A.D. 626.
His condition performed, and yet he demurs.

¹ [See Malsbury, De Gestis Regum, f. 9.]

Flor. Wigorn. a. 627. Will. Malsb. f. 6.]

^m [Saxon Chron. a. 626.]

ⁿ [Malsbury states this

A. D. 626. there be no indenting, and conditional capitulating with God, (who is to be taken on any terms,) yet this in a pagan was a good step to heaven, and Paulinus was glad he had got him thus far; especially, when in earnest of the sincerity of his resolution, he consigned over his infant daughter Eanfled to be baptized, whom Paulinus christened, with twelve mo of the queen's family°. Well, the West-Saxon king was quickly overcome, and all his complices either killed or conquered, and yet king Edwin demurred to embrace Christianity. But he communicated with the sagest of his council, with whom he had daily debates, being loath rashly to rush on a matter of such moment. And truly, that religion which is rather suddenly parched up than seasonably ripened, doth commonly ungive afterwards. Yea, he would sit long alone, making company to himself, and silently arguing the case in his own heart, being partly convinced in his judgment of the goodness of the Christian religion; and yet he durst not entertain truth, a lawful king, for fear to displease custom, a cruel tyrant.

A. D. 627.
The speech
of Coifi the
priest.

41. Amongst the many debates he had with his council about altering his religion, two passages must not be forgotten; whereof one was the speech

deed in its true colours.—
“ Quichelmum sane non me-
“ diocris culpa respergit quod
“ Edwinum Northanhumbro-
“ rum regem probatæ pruden-
“ tiæ virum, subornato sicario,
“ insidiis appetiverit. Sed si
“ consideretur illa gentilis sen-
“ tentia, *dolus an virtus quis*
“ *in hoste requirat*; facile ex-
“ cusabitur nihil præter soli-

“ tum fecisse, quod vellicato-
“ rem potentiæ quoquo modo
“ voluerit de medio subtrahe-
“ re. Nam et antea de regno
“ West-Saxonum plurima de-
“ cerpserat, et tunc accepta ir-
“ ritatus injuria, quoniam re-
“ cruduerant odia, multa pro-
“ vincialibus infixit dispen-
“ dia.” Will. Malmsh. f. 6.]
° Bede, ibidem.

of Coifi, the prime pagan priest. "Surely," said he, A.D. 627.
 "these gods whom we worship are not of any power
 "or efficacy in themselves; for none hath served
 "them more conscientiously than myself, yet other
 "men, less meriting of them, have received mo
 "and greater favours from their hand, and prosper
 "better in all things they undertake. Now if these
 "were gods of any activity, they would have been
 "more beneficial to me, who have been so observant
 "of them°." Here the reader will smile at Coifi
 his solecism, wherein the premises are guilty of
 pride, as the inference thereon of error and mistake.
 If he turn Christian on these terms, he will be
 taught a new lesson: how not only all outward
 things happen alike to good and bad, *to him that*
sacrificeth, as to him that sacrificeth not^p; but also,
 that *judgment beginneth at the house of God*^q, and
 the best men meet with the worst success in tem-
 poral matters. However, God was pleased to sanc-
 tify this man's error, as introductory to his conver-
 sion: and let none wonder, if the first glimmering
 of grace in pagans be scarce a degree above blind-
 ness.

42. Better, in my opinion, was the plain compa-
 rison, which another nameless courtier made at the
 same time. "Man's life," said he, "O king, is like
 "unto a little sparrow, which, whilst your majesty is
 "feasting by the fire in your parlour with your royal
 "retinue, flies in at one window and out at another.
 "Indeed we see it that short time it remaineth in
 "the house, and then is it well sheltered from wind
 "and weather; but presently it passeth from cold to

° Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 13. p Eccles. ix. 2. q 1 Pet. iv. 17.

A. D. 627. “ cold, and whence it came, and whither it goes, we
 “ are altogether ignorant. Thus, we can give some
 “ account of our soul, during its abode in the body,
 “ whilst housed and harboured therein ; but where it
 “ was before, and how it fareth after, is to us alto-
 “ gether unknown. If therefore Paulinus his preach-
 “ ing will certainly inform us herein, he deserveth,
 “ in my opinion, to be entertained^r.”

A. D. 627.
 Edwin con-
 verted, and
 baptized.

43. Long looked for comes at last. King Edwin, almost three years a candidate at large of Christianity, cordially embraceth the same, and with many of his nobles, and multitudes of his subjects, is solemnly baptized by Paulinus, in the little church of St. Peter's in York^s, hastily set up by the king for that purpose, and afterward by him changed into a firmer and fairer fabric. Thus, as those children which are backward of their tongues, when attaining to speech, pronounce their words the more plainly and distinctly : so Edwin, long, yea tedious, before his turning to Christianity, more effectually at last embraced the same. And when it was put to the question, what person most proper to destroy the heathen altars ? Coifi the chief priest tendered his service, as fittest for the purpose, solemnly to demolish what he had before so superstitiously adored. Down go all the pagan altars and images at God-mundingham (now Godmundham, a small village in the East-Riding of Yorkshire^t), and those idols with their hands were so far from defending themselves, that their mock-mouths could not afford one word to bemoan their final destruction.

^r Bede, *ibid*.

Wigorn. a. 628.]

^s Bede, *Hist. Eccl. ii. 14.*
 [Saxon Chron. a. 627. Flor.

^t Camden's *Britannia*, [p. 577.]

44. *When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren*, was the personal precept given to Peter^v, but ought generally to be the practice of all good men; as here it was of king Edwin, restless, until he had also persuaded Eorpwald, king of the East-Angles, to embrace the Christian faith^w. Indeed Redwald, Eorpwald's father, had formerly at Canterbury, to ingratiate himself with king Ethelbert, professed Christianity; but, returning home, he revolted to paganism at the instance of his wife^x. So great is the power of the weaker sex, even in matters of religion. For, as Bertha and Edelburga, the queens of Ethelbert and Edwin, occasioned and expedited the conversion of their husbands' kingdoms: so here a female instrument obstructed that holy design. Yea, Redwald afterwards, in the same church, set up a Samaritan mongrel religion^y, having *altare et arulam*^z, a communion-table and an idolatrous altar in the same temple: *You cannot be partakers*, saith the apostle, *of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils*^a; that is, you cannot lawfully, conscionably, comfortably; but, *de facto* it may be done, was done by Redwald in this his miscellaneous religion.

45. But three years after^b, the conversion of the East-Angles was more effectually advanced by king Seabyrht, brother, and after the death of Eorpwald, his successor in the kingdom. This Seabyrht had lived an exile in France, and got the benefit of learning by his banishment; for, wanting accommo-

^v Luke xxii. 32.

^w [Eorpwald was baptized in the year 632. See Saxon. Chron. and Florent. Wigorn. in an. 632.]

^x Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 15.

^y 2 Kings xvii. 41.

^z Bede, ut prius.

^a 1 Cor. x. 20.

^b [Rather in 636, as Florence of Worcester states, correctly enough. Wharton inclines to the year 630. Ang. Sac. I. 403.]

A.D. 627.

The East-Angles converted to Christianity.

A.D. 630.

The religion and learning of king Seabyrht.

A.D. 630. dations to appear in princely equipage, he applied himself the more close to his studies: seeing that means which would maintain a prince but like a scholar, would maintain a scholar like a prince. Yea, which was best of all, on his learning he grafted true religion; Bede giving him this character, that he became *Vir per omnia Christianissimus et doctissimus*: (can more be said in so few words?) and returning home, assisted by the preaching of Felix, a monk of Burgundy, *Juxta sui nominis sacramentum*, saith Bede^c, (happy was his name, and happiness was with him,) converted his subjects to Christianity. This Felix was made the first bishop of Dunwich in Suffolk^d; a place formerly furnished with two and fifty churches^e, and hath scarce two now remaining, the rest being swallowed up by the sea. I can hardly hold myself from calling the sea *sacrilegious*; save that, on second thoughts, considering that element to be but a natural agent, yea, such whose motions are ordered by Divine providence, *Hither shalt thou come, and no farther*, I will rather reserve this epithet *sacrilegious*, to be bestowed on those men who willingly and wilfully demolish the places appointed for God's service^f.

^c [Hist. Eccl. ii. 15.]

^d [This see was translated from Dunwich to Elmham about the year 955; afterwards to Thetford, in 1075; and lastly to Norwich, in 1094.]

^e Weever's Funeral Monuments in Suffolk. [p. 718.]

^f [At present one church only remains, dismantled of its roof and falling into ruins; but many times, at low water, the remains of the other

churches may be seen. In all probability, from the encroachments of the sea, the church and the abbey, of which the walls remained but a few years back, will be soon swallowed up like the rest. Weever has published in his "Funeral Monuments" an original letter respecting the state of this town, written in the times of queen Mary, p. 718. ed. 1631. I speak from personal observation, having frequently ram-

46. This Seabyhrt is generally reputed the founder A.D. 631. of the university of Cambridge. And because the Difference about the antiquity of the university of Cambridge. point in hand is somewhat litigious, we will take the more pains in clearing thereof, two things being warily premised. First, that Sedbyhrt's founding the university of Cambridge ought not by any to be extended to lessen and abate, much less to drown and destroy her more ancient title to learning, which she deriveth, according to good authors^b, from many hundred years before. *Valeant, quantum valere possint*, let such her overgrown evidences stand as valid as they may, by us neither confirmed nor confuted for the present. And indeed all such old things in either university, though specious to the eye, must be closely kept and tenderly touched, lest otherwise, being roughly handled, they should moulder into dust. Secondly, let none suspect my extraction from Cambridge will betray me to partiality to my mother, who desire in this difference to be like Melchisedec, ἀγενεάλογος, "without descent," only to be directed by the truth. And here I make this fair and free confession, which I hope will be accepted for ingenuous: that, as in Thamar's travail of twins, Zarah first put out his hand, and then drew it in again, whilst Pharez first came forth into the world¹: so I plainly perceive Cambridge with an extended arm, time out of mind, first challenging the birth-right and priority of place for learning; but afterwards drawing it in again, she lay for many years desolate, and of less account; whilst Oxford, if later, larger, came forth in more entire proportion, and

bled among these and other ruins of churches on this coast when a boy.]

^s A. D. 631. But some

make it four years after.

^h See Caius De Antiq. Camb. [Acad. p. 30. et sq.]

¹ Gen. xxxviii. 28.

A.D. 631. ever since constantly continued in the full dimensions of an university¹.

The leading
testimony of
Bede ex-
plained.

47. These things being thus cautiously stated, we proceed, beginning with Bede, on whose testimony all the following history is founded.

[*Sigebertus,*] *ubi regno
potitus est, mox ea quæ in
Galliis bene disposita vidit,
imitari cupiens, instituit
scholam, in qua pueri li-
teris erudirentur, juvante
se episcopo Felice (quem de
Cantua acceperat) eisque
pædagogos ac magistros,
juxta morem Cantuariorum,
præbente^k.*

“ Sedbyrht, when he had ob-
tained the kingdom, presently
“ desiring to imitate those things
“ which he had seen well-ordered
“ in France, instituted a school,
“ wherein youths might be trained
“ up in learning, Felix the bishop
“ (whom he had received out of
“ Kent) assisting him, and pro-
“ viding for them teachers and
“ masters, according to the cus-
“ tom of those in Canterbury.”

See here, king Seabyrht, to make his school complete, united therein such conveniences for education as he had observed commendable,

i. Abroad, in France : where learning at, and before his time, was brought to great perfection : St. Hierome affirming, that even in his age he had seen *studia Galliarum florentissima*, “ most flourishing universities in France¹.”

ii. At home, in Canterbury : where even at this time learning was professed, though more increased some forty years after ; when, as the same Bede re-

¹ [This subject has been discussed usque ad nauseam. Fuller has quoted and employed the principal authorities. Since his time, the Oxford antiquary, Wood, in the commencement of his History of the University of Oxford, has considered the subject at great length, with

considerable accuracy and research. See also Smith's History of University College, and Smith's edition of Bede, Appendix, No. xiv.]

^k Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 18.

¹ In Epistola ad Rusticum, [Ep. iv. t. I. p. 42.]

ports^m, that in the days of Theodorus the archbishop A. D. 631.
there were those that taught geometry, arithmetic,
and music, (the fashionable studies of that age,) to-
gether with divinity. The perfect character of an
university, where divinity the queen is waited on by
her maids of honour.

But I question whether the formality of commenc-
ing was used in that age; inclining rather to the
negative that such distinction of graduates was then
unknown, except in St. Paul's sense, *Such as used
the office of a deacon well, purchased to themselves a
good degree*ⁿ.

48. So much for Bede's text. Come we now to Authors
comment-
ing on
Bede's text.
ancient authors commenting upon him. Ancient I
call those who wrote many years before the differ-
ences were started about the seniority of the univer-
sities, and therefore are presumed impartial, as un-
concerned in a controversy which did not appear.
First, Polydore Virgil^o, who from Bede's words
plainly collects, that Seabyrht then founded the uni-

^m Hist. Eccl. i. [No such
passage as this occurs in Bede's
Historia Ecclesiastica; nor are
there any words in Asserius
such as those attributed to him
at p. 194. These are certainly
great oversights, for which our
author received a severe check
from Anthony Wood, (Antiq.
of the Univ. of Oxford, I. 106.)
He has met with an advocate
in Dr. Smith, the editor of Bede
(Append. to Bede, No. xiv.)
Dr. Smith endeavours to de-
fend him, and to reply to
Ant. Wood's objections, by
shewing that passages of simi-
lar import, though not the very
words of the supposed quota-

tions, are to be found in Bede
and Asser. A very weak and
untenable defence; for where
so much depends upon the
words of a quotation, accuracy
is surely indispensable; and
upon a controverted subject it
is altogether unjustifiable, to
substitute in support of a posi-
tion our sense of an author, in
the place of that author's words.
It is, however, probable that
Fuller quoted them at second-
hand, or trusted to his memory
for these passages. See Bede's
Hist. Eccl. iv. 2. and v. 20.]

ⁿ 1 Tim. iii. 13.

^o [Hist. Ang. iv. p. 68. et v.
p. 107.]

A.D. 631. versity of Cambridge. Nor see I any cause for that passage in the assertion of Oxford's antiquity^p, charging Polydore, *quod affectibus indulgens, adamatæ studet academiæ*; who, being a foreigner and an Italian, had nothing to bias his affection to one university more than the other. Learned Leland succeeds, who, being employed by king Henry the eighth to make a collection of British antiquities, (much scattered at the dissolution of abbeys,) thus expresseth himself:

Olim Granta fuit titulis urbs inclyta multis,
 Vicino a fluvii nomine nomen habens.
 Saxones hanc belli deturbavere procellis;
 Sed nova, pro veteri, non procul inde sita est:
 Quam Felix monachus, Sigeberti jussa sequutus,
 Artibus illustrem reddidit atque scholis.
 Hæc ego perquirens gentis monumenta Britannæ,
 Asserui in laudem Granta diserta tuam^q.

Grant, long ago a city of great fame,
 From neighbouring river doth receive her name.
 When storms of Saxon wars her overthrew,
 Near to the old sprang up another new.
 Monk Felix, whilst he Sigebert obeys,
 Lightened this place with schools, and learning's rays.
 Searching the monuments of British nation,
 This I assert in Grant's due commendation.

Here we omit the several testimonies of Bale^r, George Lilie, and Thomas Cooper, in their several histories, anno 636, with many mo, concluding Sedbyrht then the founder of the university of Cambridge.

^p Written [by Thos. Caius] anno 1566. p. 20. [ed. 1574.] am Cantionem ii. 2. [ed. 1544.]
^r In Sigeberto, Cent. i. §. 78.

^q In his Comment. in Cygne- Cent. xiii. §. 5.

49. But our cousin-germans of Oxford will scarce A. D. 631.
 re credit hereunto, multiplying objections against

Obj. There were, say they, many places, besides First objection against Sedbyrht's founding of Cambridge.
 mbridge, in the kingdom of the East-Angles, con-
 ning Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, which,
 th equal probability, may pretend to this school of
 dbyrht's foundation, seeing Bede doth not *nomi-*
tim affirm Cambridge for the particular place
 here this university was erected.

50. *Ans.* Though Bede be dumb in this particular, Answer.
 t naming Cambridge; yet he makes such signs,
 at most intelligent antiquaries by us alleged un-
 rstand him to intend the same: especially seeing
 mbridge is acknowledged by all authors, time out
 mind, to have been a place for the education of
 idents in literature.

51. *Obj.* If any such university was founded by Second ob-
 abyrt, it was at Grantchester, differing, as in ap- jection.
 llation, so in situation from Cambridge, as being a
 od mile south-west thereof. Cambridge therefore
 not entitle itself, but by apparent usurpation, to
 e ancient privileges of Grantchester.

52. *Ans.* Most usual it is for ancient places to Answer.
 er their names; Babylon to Bagdat, Byzantium to
 nstantinople, our old Verulam to St. Alban's; still
 aining the numerical nature they had before. Ox-
 d, they tell us, was once called Bellositum^s, and
 t not altered from its same self by another name.
 or is it any news for great cities, in process of time
 weary of long standing) to ease themselves a lit-
 e, by hitching into another place. Thus some part
 modern Rome is removed more than a mile from

^s Brian Twyne, *Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* p. 114. retaining this
 ne still in Beaumont-street.

A.D. 631. the ancient area thereof. Thus, Jerusalem at this day is come down from mount Sion, and more south-west climbed up mount Calvary. Yet either of these places would account themselves highly injured if not reputed, for the main, the same with the former. Sufficeth it, that some part of Cambridge stands at this day where Grantchester^t did, which anciently extended north-west^u as far as the village called Howse; and that is enough to keep possession of the privileges of Grantchester, as properly belonging thereunto. Especially seeing Oxford at this day lays claim to the antiquities of Cricklade and Lechlade, towns distant sixteen miles off, the one in Wilts, the other in Gloucestershire, two ancient schools of Greek and Latin, as some will have it, removed afterwards to Oxford, from whence some of her assertors do date her beginning.

Third objection.

53. *Obj.* Seabyrht founded but *Scholam*, which makes little to the honour of Cambridge; for thereby her professors are degraded to pedants, and, by a retrograde motion, Cambridge is sent back to Eton; I mean, is made no better than a great grammar school.

Answer.

54. *Ans.* If the best of Latin orators may be believed, *schola* properly signifies the place where all arts are publicly professed. *Ex Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides*, "Ponticus Heraclides came out of the school of Plato^v:" which is notoriously known to have been an academy; yea, all his scholars

^t Mr. Camden, an Oxford man, in his description of Cambridgeshire, alloweth Grantchester and Cambridge for the same place. [Britan. p. 356.]

^u Caius de Antiq. Cantab. (ex libro Barnwellensi) p. 11.

^v Tully, De Natura Deorum. [I. 13.]

known by the name of Academics to this day. A.D. 631.
Those of Salerno, in Italy, dedicating a book of
physic to our Henry, (the second I take it,) begin
thus ;

Anglorum Regi scribit schola tota Salerni ^w.

Schoolboys deserve to be whipped indeed, if pre-
suming to prescribe receipts to a king : but that
schola there is sufficiently known to have been a
famous university. And, under the favour of the
university, the word *universitas* is but a base and
barbarous Latin, while *schola* is pure Greek origin-
ally, to design either the place where general learn-
ing is publicly professed, or the persons studying
therein. And though I dare not totally concur with
that learned critic^x, that *universitas* was first used in
the foresaid sense, about the reign of king Henry
the Third ; yet I believe it will not be found in any
classical author in that modern acception.

55. *Obj.* In good authors, Seabyrht is said to have ^{Fourth ob-}
founded not only *scholam*, “ a school,” but *scholas*, ^{jection.}
“ schools,” in the plural. If *schola* therefore be an
university, either he made no universities than
one in Cambridge, which is absurd to affirm ; or else
he erected no universities in other places of his
kingdom, which Cantabrigians will not willingly
confess.

56. *Ans.* The variation of the number is of no con- Answer.
cernment ; for if respect be had to the several arts
there professed, Seabyrht founded schools in the
plural : but if regard be taken of the cyclopædy of
the learning resulting from those several sciences,
he erected but one grand school. Every freshman

^w [See Croke's edition, 1830,
p. 39.]

^x Camden, in his *Britannia*,
in Oxfordshire, p. 269.

A.D. 631. knows that the single quadrant, wherein the public lectures are read and acts kept, is called plurally the schools in each university.

Fifth objection.

57. *Obj.* But Bede terms them *pueros*, "boys," properly under the rod; and *ferula*, whom Seabyrht placed in his school: and the word *pædagogi*, "ushers," placed over them, imports the same; that they were no university students, but a company of little lads that lived there under correction.

Answer.

58. *Ans.* Critics will satisfy you that the word *pueri* signifies even those of more maturity, especially if living *sub regimine*, under the discipline of superiors. Secondly, Bede, being a great divine, and conversant in scripture phrase, borroweth an expression thence; Christ calling his disciples *παῖδια*, "children^y." He also uses *pædagogos* in the same notion with St. Paul's *παιδαγωγὸς ἐν Χριστῷ*, which our last translators read *instructors in Christ^z*, even to the Corinthians, who still needed such *pædagogues* or teachers, though already *enriched in all utterance and knowledge^a*. Thirdly, the Saxon ancient copy of Bede, which doubtless doth emphatically render the Latin, translates *pueri* *geonge menn*. Fourthly, Asserius Menevensis^b, speaking of Alfred's founding of Oxford, saith, that he endowed the same *sue propriæ gentis nobilibus pueris, et etiam ignobilibus*; and it is but equal that the *pueri* at Cambridge should be allowed as much man in them as those at Oxford. Lastly, the young fry of scholars, when first admitted, is such to whom *pueri^c*, in the proper

^y John xxi. 5.

^z 1 Cor. iv. 15.

^a 1 Cor. i. 5.

^b [See note p. 189.]

^c All the scholars of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, not being fellows, are termed *pueri* in their statutes.

sense thereof, may well be applied. And here it may A. D. 631. seasonably be remembered how an Oxford antiquary affirmeth^d, that Edward the fifth prince of Wales, and Richard his brother, duke of York, *Oxonix studenturunt*, studied at Oxford, in the lifetime of their father. Stout students no doubt, whereof the elder could not then be ten, the younger not nine years old. But I forget what lawyers hold, that the king's eldest son is at full age, for some purposes, at the day of his birth; in which respect he may sue out his liveries for the dukedom of Cornwall: and this, perchance, may somewhat mend the matter.

59. But enough of this matter, which some will Conclusion with prayer. censure as an impertinency to our Church History, and scarcely coming within the churchyard thereof. My prayers shall be, that each university may turn all envy into generous, yea gracious, yea glorious emulation; contending by laudable means which shall surpass other in their serviceableness to God, the church, and commonwealth: that so commencing in piety, and proceeding in learning, they may agree against their two general adversaries, ignorance and profaneness. May it never be said of them, what Naomi said of herself, *that she was too old to bear sons*^e: may they never be superannuated into barrenness; but, like the good trees in God's garden, *they shall still bring forth fruit in their old age, they shall be fat and flourishing.*

60. Seasonably Seabyrht erected an university at A. D. 632. Cambridge, thereby in part to repair the late great Edwin, king of Northumberland, loss of Christianity in England, when, the year after, Edwin, Edwin, king of Northumberland, was slain in battle slain.

^d Brian Twyne, *Antiq. Oxon.* p. 322.

^e Ruth i. 12.

A. D. 632. by Cedwala, king of Wales, and Penda, king of the Mercians^f. After whose death, his whole kingdom relapsed to paganism; and Paulinus, archbishop of York, taking with him queen Æthelburga, returned into Kent, and there became bishop of the then vacant church of Rochester^g. Mortified man, he minded not whether he went up or down hill, whilst he went on straight in his calling to glorify God and edify others; sensible of no disgrace, when degrading himself from a great archbishop to become a poor bishop. Such betray much pride and peevishness, who, outed of eminent places, will rather be nothing in the church, than any thing less than what they have been before.

A. D. 633. 61. After the death of king Edwin, his kingdom
The un-
happy year. of Northumberland was divided into two parts^h, both petty kingdoms;

i. Bernicia, reaching from the river Tees to Edinburgh Frith, whereof Eanfrith was kingⁱ.

ii. Deira, whence, say some, Deirham or Durham, lay betwixt Tees and Humber, whereof Osric was king^j.

These both proved apostates from the Christian faith; and God, in his justice, let in Cedwala, king

^f Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 20. [Flor. Wigorn. et Saxon Chron. in an. 633.]

^g [Romanus the last bishop, who had been sent to Rome by Justus the archbishop, having been drowned in the passage. Bede, *ibid.*]

^h [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 1. Flor. Wigorn. an. 634.]

ⁱ Camden's Brit. p. 558.

^j [This was the ancient division of the kingdom of North-

umberland. Authors are at variance as to the limits of Bernicia, some considering the Tees and the Tweed as its extreme limits. (See Usher, Antiq. p. 212.) As the two kingdoms were generally governed by viceroys, or merely nominal kings, their extent continually varied, as might be expected. See also The Appeal, part ii. p. 16.]

of the Britons, upon them, who slew them, harassed ^{A. D. 634.} their country, and made a lamentable desolation, within the compass of one year, without respect to age or sex; until Oswald, bred and brought up in Scotland, next of the blood royal, came to be king of Northumberland, whom God sent to redeem that miserable country from the hands of their enemies, and many eminent victories he obtained^k.

62. The fatal year wherein so many outrages were committed on the apostate Northumberlanders by Cedwala, king of the Britons, is detested by all Saxon chronologers. And therefore all the annalists, and writers of histories in that age, by joint consent, universally resolved to damn and drown the memorial of that *annus infaustus*^l, as they call it, "unlucky year," but made so by ungodly men. Yea, they unanimously agreed to allow those two apostate kings no years' reign in their chronicles, adding the time subtracted from them to Oswald, their Christian successor, accounting him to have reigned nine years^m; which indeed were but eight of his own, and one of these historians their adoptionⁿ. Yet is it no news, even in scripture itself, to bury the reign of tyrants under the monument of a good prince succeeding them. Thus when Ehud is said *to have judged the land fourscore years*^o, those *eighteen years*^p are included wherein Eglon the Moabite oppressed Israel.

^k [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.]

^l Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 1.

^m Idem, iii. 9. [Saxon Chron. an. 634.]

ⁿ [Both William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester distinguish their reign from

that of their successor; placing their reign in the year 633, and that of Oswald in 634. See Malmsh. De Gestis regum f. 9. b.]

^o Judges iii. 30.

^p Ver. 14.

A. D. 635.

A victory
given from
heaven.

63. Amongst the many victories achieved by this Oswald, one most remarkable was gained by him near Hexham in Northumberland, against the pagans, against whom he erected the standard of the cross, in a place which time out of mind was called Heafen-feld, (Haledon at this day,) by a prolepsis, not answering the name thereof until this time. Hence a poet writing the life of Oswald;

Tunc primum scivit causam cur nomen haberet
Heafen-feld, hoc est, cœlestis campus; et illi
Nomen ab antiquo dedit appellatio gentis
Præteritæ, tanquam belli præsaga futuri^q.

Then he began the reason first to know
Of Heafen-feld, why it was called so;
Named by the natives long since by foresight,
That in that field would hap an heavenly fight.

Thus it is generally reported, that the place nigh Leipsic, where the king of Sweden got one of his signal victories, was, time out of mind, termed by the Dutch Gots Acre, or God's ground^r. And thus, as Onesimus and Eutychus were so called from their infancy, but never truly answered their names till after the conversion of the one^s, and reviving of the other^t: so places, whether casually or prophetically, have names anciently imposed upon them, which are sometimes verified many ages after.

^q [The quotation is little else than a metrical version of Bede. "Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Heafen-feld" (that is, Heaven-field) "quod dici potest Latine, cœlestis campus, quod certo utique præ-

sagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit." Eccl. Hist. iii. 2.]

^r Swedish Intelligencer.

^s Philem. v. 11.

^t Acts xx. 12.

64. About this time, Honorius the pope sent his ^{A. D. 635.} letter to the Scotch nation, advising them to an uniformity with the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter^a. His main reason is thought to have more of state than strength; human haughtiness, than holy divinity in it. Namely, he counselleth them, *Ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiore antiquis sive modernis quæ per orbem erant Christi ecclesiis æstimarent.* This is that Honorius, of whom Leo the second, his successor, complaineth in his epistle to the bishops of Spain; *flammam hæretici dogmatis, non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovīt*^w; “by his negligence he did countenance the heretical opinions (meaning of the Monothelites, then beginning afresh to spring up again,) which he ought to have suppressed.” Thus he, who could stickle about the ceremony of keeping Easter, could quietly connive at, yea interpretatively consent to the depraving of the doctrinal part of religion. But his letter to the Scotch took little effect, who kept their Easter not one minute the sooner or later for all his writing unto them.

65. In a better work, and with better success, was Birinus employed, an Italian by birth, sent over by pope Honorius for the conversion of the remainder ^{Birinus converts the West-Saxons to the faith.}

^a [Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 19. They held the error of the Quartadecimans already mentioned, supporting their practice by the authority of Anatolius. (See p. 171. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3. and Usher, Antiq. p. 482.) In the year 640, John IV. wrote to the Scots, or rather the Irish, in refutation of

this their error, and for the suppression of the Pelagian heresy, which had begun to revive among them. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 19. The efforts of the pope were eventually successful. Bede, ib. iii. 4.]

^w Epist. Decret. vol. ii. 654. ed. Romæ 1591. [Usher, ib. p. 486.]

A. D. 635. of England; and to that purpose, that his preaching belike might be the more powerful, made a bishop before his coming over, by Asterius, bishop of Genoa^x. Here I am at a loss. Bishop of what? where was his diocese or bishopric? were not bishop and bishopric so correlated in that age, that they must be together? the trick of making titular bishops not as yet being used in Rome. It is impossible that bishop here should import no more than a plain priest; and that he only took orders before he came over into England. Well, commend me to the memory of this man, who first was made bishop, and then made himself a bishopric, by earning it out of the pagan English, whom he intended to convert to Christianity. Yea, he passed his solemn promise, in the presence of the pope, that he would preach the gospel in the heart of the uttermost coasts of England, (meaning the northern parts thereof,) whither no teacher had at any time gone before him^y. Minded herein like St. Paul, *not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to his hand*^z.

A broken
promise
well kept.

66. That his promise Birinus, though he literally brake, virtually kept; for he chanced to land among the West-Saxons, then called Gevissæ^a, in the southwest part of England, where as yet the inhabitants were pure-impure pagans. Having here found a fit subject for his pains, why should he go farther to seek the same? Is not Providence the best herald to marshal us, and ought we not to sit down where

^x Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.

^y Idem ibid.

^z 2 Cor. x. 16.

^a [That is, the people of the west. This country extended

from Berkshire and Hampshire to the Land's-end. It afterwards became the most powerful kingdom in the Saxon heptarchy.]

it disposeth us? Besides, according to military rules, A. D. 635. it was best to clear the coasts as he went, and not to leave a pagan foe behind his back. Moved herewith, Birinus here sets up his staff (episcopal), fixeth himself, falls a preaching, converts many, and, amongst the rest, Cynegils the West-Saxon king, whom he baptized. Oswald, king of Northumberland, chanced to be present at that time, and was first godfather, then father-in-law, to king Cynegils, to whom he gave his daughter to wife^b.

67. Dorchester, not the town which denominates Dorsetshire, but an old city in Oxfordshire, (not in Berkshire, as Stapleton mistakes it^c;) was made the seat of Birinus his bishopric. Bede saith, *Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo civitatem, quæ vocatur Dorcic*, &c. "both the kings, Oswald and Cynegils, gave to the said bishop the city Dorinca, or Dorchester." Both of them:—hence observe, first, that Oswald, whose concurrence in this grant was required, though particular king of Northumberland, was also monarch of all England. To justify our former observation, that amongst the seven Saxon kings, always one was paramount above the rest. Secondly, that this Dorchester, though it lay north of Thame in Oxfordshire, which properly belonged to the kingdom of Mercia, pertained now to the West-Saxons, beyond the ordinary limits assigned to that kingdom.

68. In this year Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, divided England (understand, so much thereof as was Christian) into parishes^d. But that most ex-

^b Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.

^c In his translation of Bede, ib.

this assertion, as far as I can discover, is bishop Godwin, in his work *De Præsul. Angliæ*, p. 40.]

^d [The only authority for

Dorchester made a bishop's see.

England divided into parishes.

A. D. 635. quisite antiquary^e seems very unwilling to admit so early and ancient parishes, in the modern proper acception of the word. Who knoweth not, that *parochia* at large signifieth the diocese of the bishop? and two new dioceses (Dunwich and Dorchester) were erected under Honorius, in the province of Canterbury. But whether parishes, as usually understood for places bounded in regard of the profits from the people therein, payable only to a pastor incumbent there; I say, whether such parishes were extant in this age, may well be questioned, as inconsistent with the community of ecclesiastic profits, which then seemed jointly enjoyed by the bishop and his clergy.

A morose
preacher
little edifi-
eth.

69. No sooner was Oswald, whom we formerly mentioned, settled in his kingdom of Northumberland, but his first princely care was to provide pastors to instruct his people in Christianity^f. In order whereunto he sends into Scotland, where he had his own education, for some eminent preachers. Unusual the sun should come out of the north to enlighten the south, as here it came to pass. One preacher was sent him thence, whose name we find not, but thus much of his nature; that, being over rigid and severe, his sermons made no impression on his English auditory^g. Hard with hard, saith the proverb, makes no wall: and no wonder, if the spiritual building went on no better, wherein the austerity and harshness of the pastor met with the ignorance and sturdiness of the people. Home he returns, complaining of his ill success; and one Aidan, of a milder temper, and more discretion, (a grace

^e Selden's Hist. of Tithes, p. 256.

^f [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.]
^g [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 5.]

which none ever spake against but such as wanted A. D. 635. it,) was sent back in his room.

70. Aidan coming into England, settled himself ^{Aidan his due com-} at Lindisfarne, or Holy-Island, in Northumberland^h; ^{mendation.} a place which is an island and no island twice in twenty-four hours, as divided by the tide from, so conjoined at low-water to the continent. His exemplary life was a pattern for all pious pastors. First, he left to the clergy *saluberrimum abstinentiæ, vel continentiæ exemplum*ⁱ; though we read not he vowed virginity himself, or imposed it on others. He lived as he taught; and whatsoever the bounty of princes or great persons bestowed on him, he gave to the poor. He seldom travelled but on foot; and when invited to large feasts at court, used to arise after a short refection, and betake himself to his meditations. He redeemed many slaves from captivity, making them first free-men, then Christians.

71. All these his excellent practices Bede dasheth ^{Bede his} with this allay, that *he had a zeal of God, although*^{allay.} *not fully according to knowledge*^k; merely because he dissented from the Romish church in the celebration of Easter. But whether those words of St. Paul, spoken of his countrymen the Jews^l, in reference to their stumbling at Christ, the Saviour of mankind, be fitly applicable to Aidan, only differing in an outward ceremony, let others decide. True it is, this Aidan was a prime champion of the Quarta-decimans, as who had been brought up under or with St. Colme in Ireland^m. The writer of the life of this St. Colmeⁿ (let this be inserted by the way)

^h [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.]

ⁱ [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 5.]

^k Hist. Eccl. iii. 3. et 17.

^l Rom. x. 2.

^m [Rather in Iona. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.]

ⁿ [Written by Adamnanus, presbyter of Iona, who is sup-

A. D. 635. reports how the said saint had a revelation of the Holy Ghost^o, which prophesied unto him of this discord, which after many days should arise in the church, about the diversity of the feast of Easter. Yet he telleth us not that the Holy Ghost reproved this Colmeⁿ, whose example animated others against the Roman rite, for his error; as if God cared not which of both sides carried the controversy.

Laymen's
diligence in
reading
scripture.

72. But all which Bede speaketh in diminution of Aidan may freely be forgiven him, were it but for his faithful recording of the following passage in Aidan's life; and take it with Stapleton's own translation thereof:

Omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive attonsi, seu laici, meditari deberent; id est, aut legendis scripturis, aut psalmis discendis operam dare.

"All they which went with him, " were they professed into religion, " or were they lay brethren, gave " themselves continually to contemplation, that is to say, bestowed all their time, either in " reading scripture, or in learning the psalter."

Bede, speaking hereof, addeth moreover, *tantum vita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat*, so much

posed to have died about 704. This life has been published in several collections; among the rest by Canisius, in his *Var. Lectiones*, vol. I. p. 674. ed. 1725. Some account of Adamnanus will be found in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 16.]

^o Archbishop Usher, in the *Religion of the Irish*, p. 72.

P [St. Columba or Columbanus was a native of Ireland, and founder of a monastery at Dermagh, in that country; whence he passed over into the north-

ern and mountainous parts of Scotland to convert the Picts; the southern inhabitants having been converted long before by Ninna, a Briton. He founded a monastery in the island Hii, or Iona, since called Colmkill, that is, the cave of St. Colme. He died in 597. See Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4. *Sax. Chron.* an. 560. He is altogether a different person from Columba, also a native of Ireland, who died in 615.]

^q [Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 5.]

differed his life from the laziness of our age: taxing A. D. 635. those of his time for neglect of the scriptures. And the ignorance bemoaned in his age continued and increased after his death.

73. When Aidan came first into England, he was The royal interpreter. not perfect in the language of our country^r; for although the speech of the modern southern Scot be only a Doric dialect of no distinct language from English, yet Aidan, who naturally spoke Irish, was not intelligible of his English congregation. Wherefore king Oswald, a better Scotchman, as bred amongst them, than Aidan was Englishman, interpreted to the people what the other preached unto them. Thus these two put together made a perfect preacher. And although some will say, sermons thus at the second-hand must lose much of their life and lustre; yet the same spirit working in both, the ordinance proved effectual to the salvation of many souls.

74. This year the first Lent was kept in England; A. D. 640. The first Lent in England. conceive it in those parts thereof which obeyed the Roman celebration of Easter^s: otherwise it is suspicious that the Quartadecimans were no good Quadragesimarians, and no such conscientious observers of Lent on the Romish account. Surely if people were taught in Lent to fast, as from flesh, so, from

^r [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.]

^s [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 7. Eadbald, king of Kent, dying this year, was succeeded by his son Ercenberht. He destroyed all the idols in his kingdom which had been left by his grandfather Æthelberht and his father Eadbald, who nevertheless had been converted to Christianity.

He was also the first of our English kings who observed the fast of Lent. Of course he could enjoin this observance no further than in that part of the Saxon heptarchy which acknowledged his authority. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 7. Saxon. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. an. 640.]

A. D. 640. a proud and false opinion of meriting thereby, policy would be well pleased, and piety not offended at the observing thereof; whilst continent countries might keep it without any loss to their souls, and islands with great gain to their estates.

A. D. 642.
The ill suc-
cess of good
kings.

75. Oswald, king of Northumberland, fighting at Maserfeld (since Oswestry) in Shropshire, against Penda the pagan prince of Mercia^t, was overthrown, slain, and his body most barbarously abused, and chopped in pieces^u. Yea, it is observable that such Saxon kings which were first converted to Christianity, and such who were the most active restorers of religion after a general apostasy, commonly came to violent deaths by the hands of heathens: as,

Edwin, first Christian king of Northumberland, slain by pagan Penda, anno 633.

Eorpwald, first Christian king of East-Angles, slain by his own people, anno 636.

Peada, first Christian king of Mercia, slain by his own wife, anno 656.

Edelwald, or Æthelwald, first Christian king of Sussex, slain likewise^w.

Oswald, the most religious restorer of Christianity in Northumberland, slain anno 642.

^t [He was the first king of Mercia, of which kingdom he laid the foundation in 626, and was the most formidable of all the princes of the Saxon heptarchy, carrying terror and consternation wherever he turned his arms. He slew two kings of Northumberland, Edwin and Oswald; and three of the East-Angles, Sedbyrht, Egric, and Anna; and lastly,

drove into exile Kenwalch, the king of the West Saxons. Malsb. f. 14. The same writer describes him as eager for battle as the crow wheels its flight towards the smell of the carcass.]

^u [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 9.]

^w [Slain in the year 685, by Ceadwalla. See Flor. Wigorn. a. 685.]

Anna, the most pious king of the East-Angles, A. D. 642.
slain by Penda, anno 654.

Edmond, the most devout king of the East-Angles, martyred by the Danes, anno 870.

Inquiring into the causes hereof, we find, first, that the lustre of their lives shining before men, made them the fairer mark for their malicious enemies. Secondly, Satan, accounting them traitors against his *kingdom of darkness*, left no stone unturned, thereby to bring them to temporal destruction, the greatest hurt which his power could inflict. Thirdly, God, to try the patience of his infant church, acquainted them with afflictions from their very cradle. Such therefore are mistaken, who make prosperity a note either of piety in particular persons, or verity in a whole church; seeing, take it one time with another, and it misseth the mark oftener than it hits it. As for our Oswald, legions of miracles are attributed unto him after death; all which we willingly omit, insisting only on one as most remarkable.

76. The story goes thus*: On an Easter-day Oswald was sitting in his palace at dinner with bishop Aidan; when in comes one of his servants, and informeth him that abundance of poor people from all parts sat in the streets expecting some alms for their relief. Presently king Oswald commands, not only that the meat set before him should be given them, but also that the large silver charger holding the same should be broke in pieces, and, in want perchance of present coin, parted betwixt them. Whereupon, Aidan, laying hold on Oswald's right hand, (and that alone, we know, ought to be the almoner^y.)

Oswald's
hand said
never to
putrefy.

* [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 6.]

^y Matt. vi. 3.

A. D. 642. "I pray God this hand," said he, "be never consumed^z:" which is said accordingly to come to pass. So that when all the other members of king Oswald's body, torn asunder by his barbarous enemies, were putrefied, his right hand always remained unconsumed.

Nullo verme perit, nulla putredine tabet
Dextra viri, nullo constringi frigore, nullo
Dissolvi fervore potest; sed semper eodem
Immutata statu persistit, mortua vivit^a.

No worm, no rottenness taints his right hand;
Corruption free, in vain the cold doth strive
To freeze, or heat to melt it, which doth stand
Still at one stay; and, though dead, is alive.

But it is not enough for us that we have the poet's pen for it; if we also had Oswald's hand to shew for the same, much might be wrought on our belief herein.

Mystically
true.

77. For my own part, I conceive that Aidan his words to Oswald, that "his hand should never wax old, or be consumed," were spiritually spoken, in a mystical meaning, parallel to those scripture expressions; *The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance^b, even when the name of the wicked shall rot^c. The bountiful hand never consumes*: neither actually, it never wastes nor impairs an estate, God so ordering it, that the more he giveth the more he hath; nor passively, "it is not consumed," the acts thereof remaining in a perpetual memorial here and here-

^z So Stapleton translateth what in Bede is *inveterascat*. [ib.]

^a Camden's Brit. in Lincolnshire, [p. 406.]

^b Psal. cxii. 6.

^c Prov. x. 7.

after. But grant this miracle of Oswald's hand literally true in the latitude there, I desire any ingenuous papist to consider the time wherein it was acted. A. D. 642.
 It was Easter-day^d, yea, such an Easter-day as was celebrated by the *quartadecimans*, Aidan being present thereat, contrary to the time which the canons of Rome appointed. Now did not a divine finger in Oswald his miraculous hand point out this day then to be truly observed? Let the papists produce such another miracle to grace and credit their Easter Roman style, and then they say something to the purpose.

78. It plainly appears, that the survivors had not only a charitable opinion, but a comfortable pre-^{Over officiousness occasioned}sumption, yea, an infallible persuasion, that the soul of king Oswald was possessed of heavenly happiness instantly after his death. What better demonstration of his present being in perfect bliss than those many miracles, which the papists confidently report to be done by him after his death, in curing sick people of their several maladies? For such souls which they fancy in purgatory are so far from healing others, that they cannot help themselves. Yea, Bede calleth this Oswald, *jam cum Domino regnantis*, "now reigning with the Lord^e." Yet the same author attesteth^f, that even in his time it was the an-

^d [Die Sancto Paschæ. Bede, ib. Malmsbury speaks of this arm as existing even in his day. De Gestis Regum f. 9. b. The preservation of the arm is readily accounted for. When Oswald was slain in battle, the enemy cut off his head and arms, and affixed them to a

pole, leaving the body for burial. The arms were preserved in a box by his brother Oswiu at Bamborough, and the head buried by him at Lindisfarne. Malmsb. ib.]

^e Hist. Eccl. iii. 12.

^f Hist. Eccl. iii. 2.

A. D. 642. niversity custom of the monks of Hexam to repair to Heafen-feld, (a place hard by, where Oswald, as aforesaid, obtained his miraculous victory,) and there "to observe vigils for the salvation of his soul," *plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, victimam pro eo, mane sacræ oblationis offerre*. A mongrel action, betwixt good-will and will-worship: though the eyes of their souls in those prayers looked not forward to the future, petitioning for Oswald's happiness; but backward to what was past, gratulatory to the bliss he had received. Purgatory therefore cannot properly be founded on such suffrages for the dead. However, such over officiousness (though at first it was like the herb in the pot, which doth neither good nor ill) in after ages became like that wild gourd^g, poisoning men's souls with superstition, when they fell to downright praying for the departed.

A. D. 644.
The death
of Paulinus.

79. This year Paulinus, late archbishop of York, since bishop of Rochester, ended his life^h; and one Ithamar succeeded him, born in Kent, and the first Englishman bishop, all being foreigners before himⁱ. As he was the first of his nation, I believe him the second of his name, meeting with no more save only *Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron, high-priest of Israel*^j.

^g 2 Kings iv. 40.

^h [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 14.]

ⁱ [The reason of foreigners being preferred seems to have been the want of learning in the native Saxons for so important a dignity. So Bede seems to indicate in his commendation of Ithamar: "In

"cujus [sc. Paulini] locum

"Honorius archiepiscopus or-

"dinavit Ithamar, oriundum

"quidem de gente Cantuari-

"rum, sed vita et eruditione

"antecessoribus suis æquan-

"dum." Hist. Eccl. iii. 14.]

^j Exod. vi. 23.

80. After king Oswald his death, four Christian A. D. 645. contemporary kings flourished in England^k. First, Most Christian king Oswiu. Oswiu, king of Northumberland, more commendable for the managing than the gaining of his kingdom^l; except any will say, that no good keeping can make amends for the ill getting of a crown, seeing he defeated Ethelwald, Oswald's son, and the true heir thereof. Bede termeth him *regem Christianissimum*^m, "the most Christian king;" a style wherewith the present majesty of France will not be offended, as which many years after was settled on his ancestors. Long had this Oswiu endeavoured in vain by presents to purchase peace from Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, who miserably harassed his country, and refused any gifts, though never so rich and great, which were tendered unto him. At last, saith my authorⁿ, Oswiu resolved, We will offer our presents to such a king who is higher in command and humbler in his courtesy, as who will not disdain to accept them. Whereupon he devoted his daughter to God, in her perpetual virginity, and soon after obtained a memorable conquest over his enemies, and cleared the country from his cruelty.

^k [Bede, Hist. iii. 16. If Fuller restricts the number to four, the statement is incorrect: for Ercombert, king of Kent, who is celebrated for his piety by all our early chroniclers, was still living.]

^l [Oswiu succeeded his brother Oswald in the kingdom of Northumberland in the year 642. In the year 645 Oswini succeeded to the kingdom of Durham, by right of his father Osric. He, though related to Oswiu, was slain by him in the

year 651, and was succeeded in that kingdom by Æthelwald the son of Oswald. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 14. Flor. Wigorn. and the Saxon Chron. in the years 642. 645. 651. Seabyrht king of Essex, and Penda prince of the Middel-angli, were converted by the means of Oswiu. See Flor. Wigorn. in an. 653.]

^m Hist. Eccl. iii. 21.

ⁿ Idem, [iii. 24. Flor. Wigorn. a. 655.]

A. D. 645.

Seabyrht
the too-
good.

81. Secondly, Seabyrht, king of Essex^o, and the restorer of religion in his kingdom, (which formerly had apostatized after the departure of Mellitus), valiant and pious, though taxed for his contumacious company-keeping, contrary to his confessor's command, with an excommunicated count, in whose house he was afterward murdered by two villains: who, being demanded the cause of their cruelty, why they killed so harmless and innocent a prince, had nothing to say for themselves, but they did it because "his goodness had done the kingdom hurt; "such his proneness to pardon offenders on their, "though but seeming, submission, that his meekness "made many malefactors^p." But I hope, and believe, that the heirs of Seabyrht, though the story be silent herein, finding his fault, amended it in themselves, and exercised just severity in the execution of these two damnable traitors.

A. D. 654.

Anna hap-
py in an
holy issue.

82. Anna may be accounted the third successor to Seabyrht, and happy in a numerous and holy offspring^q. Yea, all his children, save Firminus the eldest, slain with his father in a fight against pagan Penda, were either mitred or veiled when living, sainted and shrined when dead; as Erkenwald, bishop of London; Ætheldrith, or Audrey, and Sexburga, successively foundresses and abbesses of Ely; Withgith, a nun therein; and Ethilburg, abbess of Barking, nigh London.

A. D. 656.
The conver-

83. Peada, prince of Mercia^r, may make up the

^o [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 22.] Penda. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 21.

^p Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 22. Flor. Wigorn. a. 653. After

^q [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 18. Flor. Wigorn. a. 654.] Penda was slain in battle by Oswiu, in the year 653, the

^r [At first viceroy of the kingdom of Mercia fell into Middel-angli under his father his hands; but he gave the

quaternion, who married Alchfleda, daughter of A. D. 656. Oswiu, king of Northumberland; and thereupon re-nouncing paganism, embraced Christianity, and propagated it in his dominions. ^{sion of the Mercians to Christianity under prince Peada.} Indeed Penda, his father, that persecutor of piety, was still alive, and survived two years after, persisting an heathen till death, but mollified to permit a toleration of Christianity in his subjects. Yea, Penda, in his old age, used an expression, which might have beseemed the mouth of a better man, namely, "that he hated not Christians, but only such who professed Christ's faith without his works"; accounting them contemptible who pretended to believe in God without obeying him.

84. A brace of brethren, both bishops, both eminent for learning and religion, now appeared in the church; so like in name, they are oft mistaken in authors one for another. Now, though it be "pleasant for brethren to live together in unity;" yet it is not fit by error they should be jumbled together in confusion. Observe their difference therefore.

St. Cedd, in Latin *Ceddus*, I believe the elder, born at London^t, where afterward he was bishop;

St. Chad, in Latin *Ceadda*, born in Northumberland, bred likewise in Holy Island, and scholar to Aidanus. He was bishop of Lichfield; a mild and modest man, of

kingdom of South Mercia to Peada, who was murdered by his wife the next year. Three years after the death of Peada, the nobles of Mercia, who had secretly preserved Wulfhere, the son of Peada, rebelled against Oswiu. They were successful, and the kingdom of

Mercia reverted again to the family of Penda. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 24. Flor. Wigorn. a. 655. 659.]

^s Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 21.

^t [H. Porter's *Flowers of the Saints*, p. 35.]

^v Idem, p. 224.

A. D. 656. bred in Holy Island, an active promoter in making the East-Saxons converts, or rather reverts, to the faith. He is remembered in the Romish Kalendar, January the seventh. whom more hereafter. His death is celebrated in the Kalendar March the second, and the dust of his tomb is by papists reported to cure all diseases, alike, in man and beast. I believe it might make *the dumb to see, and the lame to speak*^w.

The later of these was, as the longest liver, so the most eminent in his life; who made many Christians, and amongst the rest Wulfade and Rufine, sons to Wulfhere king of Mercia, succeeding Peada therein, who was suddenly slain, and his untimely death was a great loss to religion.

^{Fridona}
^{first English}
^{archbishop.} 85. Look we now on the see of Canterbury, where (to our comfort) we have gotten one of our own countrymen into the place, Fridona, a Saxon. Yet, for the more state of the business, he assumed the name of Deus-dedit. We know archbishops of his see are termed *alterius orbis papæ*, and such changing of names was fashionable with the popes. He was consecrated by Ithamar alone, bishop of Rochester, the first English bishop consecrating the first English archbishop. Let no sophister cavil with his threadbare maxim, *Nihil dat quod non habet*, and

^w [St. Cedd, the elder brother, who was a monk in Holy Island, was at first a preacher among the Middel-angli, shortly after the conversion of king Peada by Finan, the successor of Aidan. Afterwards he was sent by king Oswiu to the East Saxons, and was consecrated one of their first bishops by Finan. He founded the monastery of Læstingæu, near Whitby, in Yorkshire; the headship of which he left at his death to his brother St. Chad, more correctly Ceadda, first bishop of York, and afterwards of Litchfield. He appears to have been the youngest of the four brothers, Cedd, Cynibill, Caelin, and Ceadda. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 22. 23. Symeon. Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. chap. iv.]

therefore a single bishop could not confer archiepiscopal power, but leave it to the canon lawyers to decide what may be done in case of extremity. Meantime how causeless is the caption of the papists^x at the consecration of Matthew Parker, because no archbishop, though four bishops, was present thereat. Seeing, though an archbishop be requisite *ad dignitatem*, bishops will suffice *ad honestatem*; and a single bishop, as Ithamar here^y, may be effectual *ad essentiam* of an archiepiscopal consecration. No wonder therefore if Evagrius was acknowledged a legitimate bishop by the pope himself^z, though contrary to the rigour of the canon, consecrated by Paulinus alone^a. Deus-dedit answered his name, (a good archbishop is God's gift,) and for nine years and more ruled the church to his great commendation.

86. A barbarous murder was committed by Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who, understanding that his two sons, Wulfade and Rufine, had embraced Christianity, cruelly slew them with his own hands^b. But

A. D. 662.
Wulfhere's
murder of
his two sons.

^x Sanders de Schism. [Angl. p. 279. ed. 1628.]

^y Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 20.

^z Binnius, in notis in epist. 17. Innocentii I. [Concil. tom. ii. 1268. ed. Labbe et Coss.]

^a Theodoret. [Hist. Eccl. v. 23. ed. Reading.]

^b [Bede, the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Worcester, observe a deep silence upon this point. The former indeed gives a direct testimony of Wulfhere being a Christian at the time of his accession. For, speaking of the emancipation of that kingdom from the yoke

of Oswiu, who held it by the right of conquest, he observes; "Sicque cum suo rege liberi, Christo vero regi pro semper terno in cœlis regno servire gaudebant." Hist. Eccl. iii. 24. Ingulph styles the sons of Peada, "Christianæ religionis cultores devotissimos:" which he would scarcely have done had Wulfhere been an idolater. Hist. Croyland. p. 1. ed. Gale. Malmshury also states, that upon his very accession, Wulfhere used his utmost exertions (*enirissime juvit*) to promote Christianity, which his

A. D. 662. afterwards, repenting of so foul a fact, he himself turned Christian; and in testimony thereof, finished the fair fabric of the monastery at Peterborough, begun by Peada his brother. The whole story thereof was, till lately, set forth in painting and poetry, such as it was, in the glass windows round about the cloisters of Peterborough.

Wulfade prayed Chad, that ghostly leech,
The faith of Christ him for to teach.

The making of glass brought first into England.

87. And now, having fallen on the mention of glass, be it seasonably remembered, that just at this time one Benault, a foreign bishop, but of what place I find not, brought the mystery of making glass into England, to the great beautifying of our churches and houses; the eyes being the grace of the body, as windows are of buildings. I conceive his invention was white glass alone, more ancient than painted glass in this island, as plain song is much senior to all descanting and running of division^c.

Scottish bishops dissent from

88. The paroxysm continued and increased betwixt the Scottish bishops (headed, after Aidan's death, by

brother had introduced. *De Gestis Regum*, f. 14. Fuller follows a legend published by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 119. ed. 1661.

A very full account of the building of this monastery will be found in the *Sax. Chron.* in the years 655, 656, though the passage bears all the marks of being an interpolation.]

^c [The use of glass windows was introduced into England by Abbot Benedict about the

year 670, who built the monasteries of St. Peter and Paul at Yarrow, in the bishopric of Durham. He also first introduced into England artificers of stone buildings. "Neque enim ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi perraro videbatur, neque perspicuitate vitri penetrata lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius." *Malmsh. f. 11*. His life has been written by his pupil Bede.]

Finan, bishop of Holy-Island,) and such who celebrated Easter after the Roman rite^d. The latter so A. D. 662. others in keeping Easter. bitterly detested the former, that they would not receive consecration of them, or imposition of hands; as if their very fingers' ends were infected with schism, for dissenting from Rome. Yea, they would neither give the sacrament of the eucharist to them, nor receive it from them: and yet they never quarrelled at or questioned the validity of baptism conferred by them, seeing bishop Finan christened the king of the East-Saxons^e, and all his subjects. Somewhat more moderate were the Scots or Quattadecimans in their carriage to the other, seeing St. Chad (Scottized in his judgment) refused not consecration from Wina, bishop of Winchester, though one of the contrary opinion^f.

89. Nor was this controversy confined to cloisters This controversy spreads into private families. and colleges, but derived itself from the king's court down into private families. Thus Oswiu king of Northumberland was of the Scottish persuasion, whilst his queen and eldest son were of the Romish opinion, in celebration of Easter. One board would not hold them whom one bed did contain. It fell out so sometimes, that the husband's Palm-Sunday was the wife's Easter-day; and in other families the wife fasted and kept Lent still, whilst her husband feasted and observed Easter. Say not that wife deserved to fast always who in so indifferent a ceremony would not conform to her husband's judgment.

^d [Bede, Hist. iii. 25. Symeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. ch. iv.]

^e [Seabyrht.]

^f [He was consecrated by Wina and two British bishops,

who observed the Scottish rite of Easter. But certainly St. Ceadda, so far from leaning to their customs, held the very opposite. See the concluding passage in Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 28.]

A. D. 662. For consciences in such kinds are to be led, not drawn. Great was the disturbance in every great family; only the poor gained by the difference, causing a duplicate of festivals, two Easters being kept every year in the same house.

A. D. 664. A council is called to compose this controversy. 90. To compose this controversy (if possible), a council was called at Streoneshalh, now Whitby in Yorkshire, by the procurement of St. Hilda, abbess therein. Here appeared, amongst many others,

For the Romish Easter,

Wilfrith, an abbot, a zealous champion^g.

Romanus, a priest, very hot in the quarrel, and others.

Moderators.

Hilda, the abbess of Streoneshalh.

St. Cedd, bishop of London, propending to the Scottish, but not thoroughly persuaded.

For the Scottish Easter,

St. Colman, bishop of Holy Island, who succeeded Finan in that place.

But Baronius and Binnius will in no case allow this for a council, (though elsewhere extending that name to meaner meetings,) only they call it a colation; because, forsooth, it wanted some council-formalities; all bishops not being solemnly summoned, but only some volunteers appearing therein. Besides, as there was something too little, so something too much for a canonical council; Hilda, a woman, being moderatress therein, which seemed irregular^h.

^g [Heddius, vit. Wilfrid. ch. x.]

^h [It is clear that Oswiu, king of Northumberland, and

91. In this council or collation, call it which you please, after much arguing *pro* and *con*, Wilfrith at last knocked all down with this argument; that the Romish celebration of Easter was founded on the practice of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and porter of heaven. King Oswiu hearing this was affrighted, who had rather anger all the other eleven apostles than offend St. Peter, one so high in power and place; for fear, as he said, lest coming to heaven-gate, St. Peter should deny him a cast of his office, and refuse to let him into happiness. St. Colman, being on the other side, was angry that so slight an argument had made so deep an impression on the king's credulity. And, to manifest his distaste, after the council was broken up, carried all those of his

A. D. 664.
 Wilfrith
 his prevail-
 ing argu-
 ment.

not St. Hilda, was moderator in this synod. In which office he seems to have had the assistance of his son Alchfrith, who being a disciple of Wilfrith, followed the Romish persuasion. The defenders of the Scotch, that is, the Irish custom of observing Easter, were Colman and his disciples, whom he in all probability brought from Lindisfarn for that purpose. Those who favoured it were Hilda and Cedd, who had been ordained by the Scotch, who acted as interpreter for both parties. The defenders of the Romish custom were Ægilberct, bishop of the West-Saxons, Agatho, a priest, and Wilfrith, abbot of Rippon, who had been educated at Lyons, where the Romish custom was observed, and who had also made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he had been instructed in the

Romish custom of celebrating Easter. Heddii V. Wilfridi, ch. v. (in Gale's Script. i. p. 53.) These were supported by Jacobus, who had been a deacon to Paulinus, archbishop of York, and Romanus a priest, whom Eanfled had brought with her out of Kent. Besides these was one Ronan a Scotchman, but educated in France and Italy, a very strenuous advocate for the Romish observance, in which he had shewn much opposition to Finan, bishop of Lindisfarn, the predecessor of St. Colman. Fuller appears to have confounded him with Romanus. Wilfrith in his reply enters into a long and clear statement of the difference between the churches. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 25. Another point of dispute also was the mode of tonsure. Upon which see Dr. Smith's App. to Bede.]

A. D. 664. own opinion home with him into Scotlandⁱ. One Tuda succeeded him in his bishopric of Holy Island, the first of that see that conformed himself in this controversy to the Romish church, and died in the same year of the plague^k.

His intended, but disappointed preferment.

92. As for Wilfrith, he was well rewarded for his pains in this council, being presently promoted to be bishop of York^l, which, since Paulinus his death, was no longer an archbishop's, but a plain bishop's see^m. But, though appointed for the place by king Oswiu, he refused consecration from any English bishops, being all irregular, as consecrated by the schismatical Scots; only Wina, late bishop of Winchester, now of London, was ordained canonically, but lately he had contracted just shame for his simonyⁿ, in buying his bishopric^o. Over goes Wilfrith therefore to Rome for consecration, and stays there so long, that in his absence the king put St. Chad into the bishopric of York^p. The writer of Wilfrith's life complains loudly hereof;

Audacter sponsam vivo rapuere marito.

Boldly in the husband's life,

Away from him they took his wife.

But, by the poet's leave, York was but espoused, not

ⁱ [That is, Ireland, at this time the great school of ecclesiastics. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 27.]

^k [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 26. Symeon, ib. ch. v.]

^l [Vacated by the death of Tuda.]

^m [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 28.]

ⁿ [Will. of Malsb. f. 134.]

^o [Ægilberct, bishop of Winchester, the predecessor of

Wina, who has been mentioned in a previous note as favourable to the Romish custom of celebrating Easter, had now returned into France, his native country, and been made bishop of Paris. He assisted at Wilfrith's ordination. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 28. Godwin de Præsul. p. 203.]

^p [Heddius, ib. ch. xiv.]

married to Wilfrith, whilst he was in England: and A. D. 664.
 after his going over beyond sea, he stayed so long,
 that his church presumed him dead, and herself a
 maid-widow, which lawfully might receive another
 husband. At last Wilfrith returning home had York
 restored unto him^q, and St. Chad was removed to
 the new-founded bishopric of Lichfield^r.

93. The abbess Hilda, whom we mentioned before, Abbess
Hilda.
 was like another Huldah, which lived in the college^s,
 superior to most of her sex in learning, inferior to
 none in religion^t. Monks ascribe it to her sanctity,
 that she turned many serpents in that country into
 stones. Plenty of which stones are found at this
 day about Whitby, the place of her abode, having
 the shape of serpents, but most headless; as the tale
 is truthless, relating it to her miraculous operation.
 Who knows not but that at Alderly in Gloucester-
 shire there are found stones resembling cockles or
 periwinkles in a place far from the sea? which are
 esteemed by the learned the gamesome work of
 nature, sometimes pleased to disport itself, and pose
 us by propounding such riddles unto us.

94. Some impute it also to Hilda her holiness, A miracle
imputed to
her holi-
ness.
 that wild geese, when flying over the grounds near
 her convent, fell down to the ground, as doing^r
 homage to the sanctity thereof. As the credit of
 the reporters hath converted wise men to believe
 the thing, so they justly remain incredulous, that it
 proceedeth from any miracle, but secret antipathy.

^q [But not till three years xiv, xv.]
 after his return, when Theo-
 dorus having been appointed
 archbishop of Canterbury, de-
 posed St. Chad, and restored
 Wilfrid to York. Heddius, ib.

^r [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 3.]

^s 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22.

^t [She died 17 Nov. 680.
 Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 23.]

A. D. 664. But as philosophers, when posed in nature, and prosecuted to render reasons of her mysteries, took sanctuary at *occulta qualitas*, monks in the same kind make their refuge to the shrine of some saint, attributing all they cannot answer to his or her miraculous operation. Yea sometimes such is monkish impudence, falsely to assign that to a saint (though all chronologies protest against the possibility thereof) which is the plain and pregnant effect of nature. Witness when they write, that Richard de la Wich, bishop of Chichester, with his fervent prayers obtained that the witches or salt springs should boil out of the earth in Durtwich in Worcestershire^t; which are mentioned and described by ancient authors dead before the cradle of the said Richard de la Wich was made.

A. D. 668.
Theodorus
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

95. Look we now on the see of Canterbury, and there after the death of the last archbishop, and four years vacancy, we find that church hath changed her Latin into Greek, I mean, dead Deus-dedit, into Theodorus his successor, put in by the pope^v. This Theodorus was a Grecian by name and nation, fellow-citizen with St. Paul, born in Tarsus in Cilicia^w; and herein like him, that *he spake with tongues more than they all*^x, had more skill in learned languages than all his brethren, bishops of England, in that age. Yea, as children when young are permitted to play, but when of some years are sent to learn their book, so hitherto the infant church of England may be said to have lost time for matter of learning, and now Theodorus set it first to school, brought books

^t As Camden saith in Worcestershire, [p. 433.]

^v [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 1.]

^w Acts xxii. 3.

^x 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

to it, and it to books; erecting a well-furnished A. D. 673. library, and teaching his clergy how to make use thereof.

96. I could wish this Theodorus had had one His fierceness to keep Easter after the Romish rite. quality more of St. Paul; that in matters indifferent he would have been *made all things to all men, that by all means he might save some*^y. Whereas he most rigorously pressed conformity to Rome in the observation of Easter: and to that purpose a council was called at Herud-ford^z, now Hertford, and not Hereford, as judicious and industrious bishop Godwin Sept. 24. (partial to the place whereof he himself was bishop) doth mistake it^a. Here Easter was settled after the Romish rite; and we are not sorry for the same, willing rather it should be any way ordered, than that the reader (with whom I sympathize more than grudge my own pains) should be troubled any longer with such a small-great controversy, low in its own merit, but heightened with the spleen and passion of such as prosecuted it. In this synod nine other articles were concluded of, as they follow here in order, out of Bede, as Stapleton himself hath translated them^b.

i. "That no bishop should have ought to do in another's diocese, but be contented with the charge of the people committed unto him.

ii. "That no bishop should molest, or any wise trouble such monasteries as were consecrated and

^y 1 Cor. ix. 22.

^z [Heoptropb.]

^a [De Præaul. p. 42.]

^b [See some pertinent remarks respecting this synod by Johnson, quoted in Wilkins' Concil. I. p. 62. The first ar-

ticle respecting Easter was as follows: "That we all in common do keep the holy feast of Easter on the Sunday after the xivth day of the moon in the month of March."]

A. D. 673. “ given to God, nor violently take from them ought
“ that was theirs.

iii. “ That monks should not go from place to place,
“ that is to say, from one monastery to another, unless
“ by the leave of their own abbot, but should continue in the obedience which they promised at the
“ time of their conversion, and entering into religion.

iv. “ That none of the clergy forsaking his own
“ bishop should run up and down where he list, nor
“ when he came any whither, should be received
“ without letters of commendation from his diocesan.
“ And, if that he be once received, and will not
“ return, being warned and called, both the receiver
“ and he that is received shall incur the sentence of
“ excommunication.

v. “ That such bishops and clerks as are strangers,
“ be content with such hospitality as is given them;
“ and that it be lawful for none of them to execute
“ any office of a priest without the permission of the
“ bishop in whose diocese they are known to be.

vi. “ That whereas by the ancient decrees a synod
“ and convocation ought to be assembled twice a
“ year, yet because divers inconveniences do happen
“ among us, it hath seemed good to us all that it
“ should be assembled once a year, the first day of
“ August, at the place called Clófeshooh.

vii. “ That no bishop should ambitiously prefer
“ himself before another, but should all acknowledge
“ the time and order of their consecration.

viii. “ That the number of bishops should be increased, the number of Christian folk waxing daily
“ greater; but hereof at this time we said no further.

ix. “ That no man commit advoutry nor fornication,
“ that no man forsake his own wife, but for only for-

"nication, as the holy gospel teacheth. And if any A.D. 673.
 "man put away his wife being lawfully married unto
 "him, if he will be a right Christian man, let him be
 "joined to none other; but let him so continue still
 "sole, or else be reconciled again to his own wife^c."

I wonder no mention herein of settling the tonsure of priests (a controversy running parallel with that of Easter) according to the Roman rite^d. To conclude, let not the reader expect the like exemplification of all articles in following synods so largely as here we have presented them. For this synod Stapleton calls "the first of the English nation^e;" (understand him, whose canons are completely extant,) and therefore more patrimony is due to the heir and eldest son than to the younger brethren, who shall be content to be confined to their pensions, I mean, to have their articles not exemplified, but epitomized hereafter.

97. Theodorus archbishop of Canterbury, beheld A.D. 678.
 Wilfrith bishop of York, (one of great parts, and ^{He envieth}
 greater passions,) with envious eyes; and therefore, ^{Wilfrith}
 to abate his power, he endeavoured that the diocese ^{bishop of}
^{York.}

^c [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 5.]

^d [This is not so surprising: for it is probable that Theodorus, who was educated in the Greek church, and previous to his coming into England had followed the Oriental mode of tonsure, which prevailed also in the British churches, was not favourable to the Romanists on this point. Hadrian accompanied him by the express command of pope Vitellianus: "ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more,

"in ecclesiam cui præesset, introduceret. Qui [Theodorus] subdiaconus ordinatus, quatuor expectavit menses, donec illi coma cresceret quo in coronam tonderi posset." Corona denotes the Romish mode of tonsure, which was an imitation of the crown of thorns platted about our Saviour's head. For an account of this controversy, see Dr. Smith's App. to Bede, §. ix.]

^e In his translation of Bede, ibid.

A.D. 678. of York might be divided^f. Wilfrith offended hereat goes over to Rome to impede the project, and by the way is tossed with a grievous tempest. It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit. He is cast on the shore of Friezeland in Belgia, where the inhabitants, as yet pagans, were by his preaching converted to Christianity. This may be observed in this Wilfrith, his *πάρεργα* were better than his *ἔργα*, his casual and occasional were better than his intentional performances, which shews plainly that Providence acted more vigorously in him than his own prudence: I mean, when at ease in wealth, at home, he busied himself in toys and trifles of ceremonious controversies; but when (as now and afterwards) a

^f [Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 19. Heddus, ib. ch. xxvi. Bede attributes the banishment of Wilfrith to Ecgfrith, king of Northumberland (Hist. Eccl. iv. 12, 13, and v. 19, 20.) It appears that contrary to the wishes of the king, he not only countenanced the mistaken piety of Ætheldrith, who abandoned her husband for the cloister, but even encouraged her in it, contrary to the express wishes of the king. See also Flor. Wigorn. an. 672 and 677, and the Sax. Chron. a. 678. With these also Heddus Stephanus, Wilfrid's biographer, to a certain extent agrees, although he attributes Ecgfrith's hostility to a different cause. According to his statement, Irminburga, Ecgfrith's queen, excited feelings of envy in her husband's breast against Wilfrith; pointing his attention to that prelate's power and magnificence;

and they induced Theodorus, corrupted as Balaam was by Balach, to pronounce sentence against him, and deprive him of his bishopric. Vit. Wilfridi, ch. xxiv. Malsbur. de gestis Pontif. iii. f. 149. Wilfrith's own account of the matter will be found in his petition to the pope, printed in Heddus ib. ch. xxix. together with the proceedings of the synod upon the occasion.

It is not unlikely that Godwin, who is Fuller's authority for this assertion, has mistaken Winfrid bishop of Litchfield, for Wilfrith bishop of York. Godwin, de Præsul. 653. Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, dispossessed the former of his bishopric, on occasion of some contention between them in the year 675. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 6. Flor. Wigorn. a. 675.]

stranger, and little better than an exile, he effect- A.D. 679.
ually promoted the honour and glory of God^g.

98. And as it is observed of nightingales, that The South-Saxons (as formerly the Frieze-landers) converted by Wilfrith.
they sing the sweetest when furthest from their nests, so this Wilfrith was most diligent in God's service when at the greatest distance from his own home. For though returning into England he returned not unto York, but stayed in the pagan kingdom of the South-Saxons, who also, by God's blessing on his endeavours, were persuaded to embrace the Christian faith^h.

99. These South-Saxons, of all the seven king- The first, the last.
doms, were the last which submitted themselves to the perfect freedom of God's service, and yet their country was in situation next to Kent, where the gospel was first planted. Herein it was verified, *many that are first shall be last, and the last first.* Yea, the Spirit, *which bloweth where it listeth*, observeth no visible rules of motion; but sometimes taking no notice of those in the middle, reacheth to them which are farthest off. Indeed, Ædilwalch their king was a little before christened by the persuasion of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who was his godfather, and at his baptizing gave him for a gift the Isle of Wight, *et provinciam Meanuarorum*ⁱ *in gente*

^g [He left Frisia for Rome; and after pleading his cause there returned into England. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13. Flor. Wigorn. an. 679. Upon his arrival he presented the pope's decree in his favour to king Ecgfrith, who notwithstanding refused to obey it. See Heddius, ib. ch. xxxiii. The extravagancies of this writer form a striking contrast to the judi-

cious narrative of Bede, who has given a connected sketch of this prelate's life in his Hist. Eccl. v. 20.]

^h [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13, and v. 19.]

ⁱ [The record of this province still remains in the names of Meansborough, Eastmean, Westmean, and other places in Hampshire. See Camden's Brit. p. 123. (ed. Gibson.)

A. D. 679. *occidentalium Saxonum*^j, but his country still remained in paganism. And although Dicul a Scot, with some six of his brethren, had a small monastery at Bosham in Sussex, yet they, rather enjoying themselves than meddling with others, were more careful of their own safety than their neighbours' conversion. And indeed the pagans neither heeded their life nor minded their doctrine.

Pagan obstinacy punished with famine.

100. However, these South-Saxons paid for their stubbornness, in standing out so long against the gospel; for they always were a miserable people^k, and at this present afflicted with a great famine, caused by three years' drought; so that forty men in a row, holding hand in hand, used to throw themselves into the sea to avoid the misery of a lingering death. In this woful condition did Wilfrith bishop of York, find them when he first preached the gospel unto them; and on that very day wherein he baptized them, (as if God from heaven had poured water into the font,) he obtained store of rain, which procured great plenty. Observe (though I am not so ill-natured as to wrangle with all miracles) an apish imitation of Elijah; (who carried the key of heaven at his girdle, to lock or unlock it by his prayer;) only Elijah gave rain after three years and six months, Wilfrith after bare three years; it being good manners to come a little short of his betters.

South-Saxons first taught to fish.

101. Also, saith my author^l, he taught the people (who till then knew not how to catch any fishes but

^j Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13.

^k [The kingdom of the South-Saxons was one of the smallest of the Saxon heptarchy, embracing in its extent the counties of Sussex and

Surrey only. So little was its importance, that scarce a passing notice has been bestowed upon its history by Bede or the other chroniclers.]

^l Bede, ib.

eels) how to take all kind of fish in the sea and rivers. ^{A.D. 679.} Strange! that thus long they should live in ignorance of so useful a trade, being, though infidels, no idiots; especially seeing men's capacities come very soon to be of age to understand their own profit: and the examples of their neighbours might have been tutors unto them. But Wilfrith afterward wanted no hearers, people flocking unto him; as when Christ made his auditors his guests they followed after him, *because they ate of the loaves and were filled*. The priests Eappa, Padda, Burghelm, and Oiddi, assisted in baptizing the common people; and king Ædilwalch gave Wilfrith a piece of land, containing eighty-seven families, at Selsey, where he erected a bishop's see, since translated to Chichester.

102. Amongst other good deeds, Wilfrith freed two hundred and fifty men and maid servants, both out of soul slavery, and bodily bondage¹. For, having baptized them, he procured their liberty of their masters, which they (no doubt) cheerfully embraced, according to St. Paul's counsel, *Art thou called a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather*^m. And thus by God's blessing, in the space of eighty and two years, (from five hundred ninety-seven to six hundred seventy-nine,) was the whole Saxon heptarchy converted to Christianity, and did never again relapse to paganism.

103. Mention being lately made of Wulfhereⁿ, the Mercian king, his being godfather unto Ædilwalch, king of the South-Saxons, some will much admire, that one arrived at years of maturity, able to render an account of his faith, should have a godfather,

¹ [Bede, Hist. Eccl. ib.]

^m 1 Cor. vii. 21.

ⁿ Parag. 99.

A. D. 679. which (with swaddling-clouts) they conceive belong to infants alone. Yet this was very fashionable in that age: not only for the greater state, in kings, princes, and public persons, but, *in majorem cautelam*, even amongst private people. For such susceptors were thought to put an obligation on the credits, and by reflexion on the consciences, of new Christians, (whereof too many in those days were baptized out of civil designs,) to walk worthy of their profession, were it but to save their friends' reputation, who had undertaken for their sincerity therein.

A. D. 685.
Cadwallader founds
a Welsh
hospital at
Rome.

104. Cadwallader, the last king of Wales, wearied out with war, famine, and pestilence, left his own land, and, with some small treasure, fled to Alan, king of Little Britain. But princes are welcome in foreign parts, when pleasure, not need, brings them thither; or whilst they are so considerable in themselves as to command their own entertainment. Whereas this distressed king his company was beheld not only as useless and expensive, but dangerous, as likely to draw with it the displeasure of the Saxon kings, his enemies, on his entertainer. But it seems Cadwallader had better friends in heaven than any he found on earth, if it be true what confidently is reported, that an angel appeared unto him, advising him to go to Rome, there to take on him the habit of a monk, and spend the remainder of his life°. Here he purchased lands, all by the foresaid angelical direction, built an house, (after his death converted into an hospital,) and by his will so ordered it, that certain priests of his own country should for ever have the rule and government

° Lewis Owen his Running Register, p. 17. [ed. 1626.]

eof. These were to entertain all Welsh pilgrims ^{A.D. 685.} meat, drink, and lodging for the space of a th, and to give them a certain sum of money a *viaticum* at their departure towards their ges in returning to their own country^p.

55. Many a year did this hospital flourish in l plenty, till the middle of queen Elizabeth her 1; when fair the revenues belonging, and few Welsh pilgrims repairing thereto. This made er Parsons, with the rest of our English Jesuits,

Since inju-
riously
taken from
the Welsh.

an envious eye thereon, who would never be t until they had obtained of pope Gregory the Ith to eject the old British, and unite this hos- l to the English college at Rome. This, no ot, stirred up the Welsh blood of Dr. Morris, Lewis, Dr. Smith, Mr. Griffith, who in vain dled to the utmost of their power to continue foundation to their countrymen. In my poor ion, seeing an angel is said to direct in the ding and endowing of this hospital, it was but hat either the same angel appearing again, or e other of an higher, or at least equal dignity

This foolish tale of Cad- der or Ceadwalla going to e, depends wholly on the rity of Geoffry of Mon- h, arising doubtless from onfusing Ceadwalla, king e West-Saxons, with Cead- l, king of Wales, who was l by Oswald in the year

The former of these kings a pilgrimage to Rome in ear 688, and died there. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 12, nd v. 7. Sax. Chron. an.) so did his successor Ina. ecting this foolish conceit

of the Welsh chronicler, in which he has been followed by some others, see R. Hig- den's Polychron. p. 243, (ed. Gale,) and J. Fordun, Hist. Scot. iii. 41. sq. Were not Bede's authority sufficient to decide the point, it is certain that no Welshman would ever think at that time of making a pil- grimage to Rome. This is only a foolish invention of later times to magnify the import- ance of the church at Rome, which the Britons at that time utterly despised. See p. 174.]

A. D. 692. and degree in the celestial hierarchy, should have altered the use, and confirmed the alienation thereof. But of this more hereafter^q.

The ecclesiastical laws of king Ina.

106. Ina, king of the West-Saxons, about this time set forth his Saxon laws, translated into English by Mr. Lambarde. Eleven of his laws concerned church matters; kings in that age understanding their own power, the pope having not as yet intrenched on their just prerogative. These constitutions were concluded on by the king, through the persuasion of Cenred his father. Hedda and Erkenwald his bishops, and all his aldermen and wise senators of the people. Let none wonder that Ina, in his preface to these laws, termeth Erkenwald his bishop^r, whose see of London was properly under the king of the East-Saxons. For he might call him his in affection, whose diocese was in another king's possession; Ina highly honouring Erkenwald for his piety, and therefore inviting him (forward of himself to all goodness) to be present at the passing of these laws. Besides, some assign Surrey as part

^q Vide annum Domini 1569. [Much curious information respecting this college will be found in Ant. Munday's 'English Roman Life,' which describes the author's visit to this seminary, and the manners of its scholars. This tract was first printed in the year 1590, and since reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, II. 167. ed. 1809.]

^r [In some copies of this preamble, as in that printed by Wilkins, Conc. I. 58, the words *Herchenwoldi episcopi mei* are omitted. But whether Erken-

wald was present or not, does not affect the question which is here raised. Since the days of his predecessor Ceadwalla, the whole of the Cis-humbrian provinces were virtually, for the most part actually, under the dominion of the West-Saxon kings. According to Godwin, Erkenwald died in the year 685, three years before Ina's accession; but he quotes no authority for this statement. De Præsul. p. 172. See the note of Spelman in his Concilia, touching the chronology of this period.]

of the kingdom of the West-Saxons^s: probably at A.D. 692.
 this present Ina's puissance sallied over the Thames,
 and London might be reduced into his honorary
 protection. But see here a breviat of his church
 laws^t.

i. That ministers observe their appointed form of living.

ii. That every infant be baptized within thirty days after his birth, on the penalty of his parents forfeiting thirty shillings; and if the child chance to die before he be baptized, all his estate.

iii. If the servant doth any work on the Lord's day at the master's command, the servant shall be acquitted^u, and the master pay thirty shillings. But if he did that work without his master's command, let him be beaten, or redeem it with money, &c. A priest offending in this kind was to be double punished.

iv. The first-fruits of seeds^v were to be paid to the church on the feast of St. Martin, on the penalty of forty shillings, besides the payment of the said first-fruits twelve times over.

v. If any deserving stripes shall fly to a church, his stripes shall be forgiven him. If guilty of a capital crime, he shall enjoy his life, but make recompense according to what is right and due.

^s Usher, de Brit. Eccles. p. 394=210.

^t Spelman's Concilia, I. 182. [Wilkins, I. 58, and IV. 744-Brompton, in Twysden, p. 761.]

^u The Latin, *liber esto*, may not only import a freedom from fault, but also, that such a slave-servant should be manumitted from servitude. See

the following 113th paragraph. [Neither the Latin nor the Saxon (sý he freo) admit of any other than the latter interpretation.]

^v [Cyriceat, church-scot, church-dues. The absurd translation of the word given in the text is taken from Lombard. See Spelman's and Twysden's Glossary, s. v.]

A. D. 692. vi. Fighters in the king's court to lose their goods, and to be at the king's mercy for their life. Such as fight in the church to pay one hundred and twenty shillings. If in the house of an alderman sixty shillings, &c.

vii. Such as falsify their witness or pawn in the presence of the bishop, to pay one hundred and twenty shillings.

viii. Several penalties of money imposed on those that should kill a stranger.

ix. Such as are breakers of the peace in the town of the king or bishop^w punishable with one hundred and twenty shillings; in the town of an alderman eight shillings; in the town of one of the king's servants^x sixty shillings, &c.

x. First-fruits of all seeds were to be paid by housekeepers as due from that place wherein they themselves were resident on the day of Christ's nativity.

xi. What sums of money are to be paid by such who have killed their godfathers or godsons.

In this last law express provision is made, *episcopi filius si occidatur*, in case the son of a bishop be killed: a passage impertinently alleged by some for the proof of bishops married in that age; seeing neither sons natural nor conjugal, but only spiritual, at the font are thereby intended. Now let the learned in the law render the reason why murder in that age was not punishable with death, but might be bought off with money.

A. D. 694. 107. A great council (for so it is tituled) was held
Women

^w [Ubi sedes ejus est.]

^x [Thayni regis.]

at Baccancelde^y by Wihtred, king of Kent, and A.D. 694.
 Brihtwald, archbishop of Britain, (so called therein,) ^{present at}
 understand him of Canterbury, wherein many things ^{the great}
 were concluded in favour of the church. Five ^{council of}
 Kentish abbesses, namely, Mildred, Ætheldrith, Æte,
 Wilnode, and Herelwide, were not only present,
 but subscribed their names and crosses to the con-
 stitutions concluded therein. And we may observe,
 that their subscriptions are not only placed before
 and above all presbyters, but also above Botred a
 bishop^z, (but of what diocese not specified,) present
 in this great council. It seems it was the courtesy
 of England to allow the upper hand to the weaker
 sex, as in their sitting, so in their subscriptions.

108. We will conclude this century with the mi- ^{Romish}
 raculous holiness of Ætheldrith, or St. Audre; ^{brags of St.}
 professing at first to be afraid to adventure on so high ^{Audre's}
 a subject, disheartened in reading a popish author to ^{chastity.}
 rant so in her commendation. "Let the fabulous
 " Greeks talk no more of their chaste Penelope, who
 " in the twenty years' absence of her husband Ulysses
 " lived continently, in despite of the tempting im-
 " portunity of many noble wooers: and let the proud

y [" Baccancelde, now called
 " Babchild, near to Sitting-
 " bourne on the Canterbury
 " side, being about midway
 " between the coast of Kent
 " and London, and therefore a
 " very convenient place for a
 " Kentish council. At this
 " place, not many years since,
 " were the visible remains of
 " two chapels standing very
 " near to one another, on the
 " right hand of the road from
 " Canterbury to Sittingbourne;

" the present church stands on
 " the opposite side, at no great
 " distance from them. Dr. Plott
 " many years since observed to
 " me that this and other cir-
 " cumstances were good pre-
 " sumptions that this was the
 " old Baccancelde, the place for
 " the Kentish councils." John-
 " son's Coll. of Canons, in an.
 " 692. Wilkins, I. 56.]

^z Spelman's Concil. I. 190.
 [Wilkins, I. 56. IV. 754.]

A.D. 694. "Romans cease to brag of their fair Lucretia, that
 "chose rather to become the bloody instrument of
 "her own death, than to live after the violent
 "ravishment of her honour: and let all the world
 "turn their minds to admire, and their tongues and
 "pens to sound the praises of the Christian virtues
 "and chastity of our blessed Ethelred," &c.^a But
 leaving the bubbles of his rhetoric to break of them-
 selves, on serious considerations we are so far from
 admiring, it is more than we can do to excuse this
 St. Audre, as her story is reported.

Twice a
 wife, still a
 maid.

109. This Audre was daughter to Anna king of
 the East-Angles, and from her infancy a great
 affecter of virginity^b. However, she was over-per-
 suaded to marry one Tondberet, prince of the Fen-
 land^c, with whom she lived three years in the bands
 of unexperienced wedlock, both by mutual consent
 abstaining from carnal copulation. After his death,
 so importunate were her friends with her, that she
 married with Egfrith king of Northumberland.

Pretended
 chastity,
 real in-
 justice.

110. Strange, that being once free, she would
 again entangle herself; and stranger, that being
 married, she utterly refused to afford her husband
 what the apostle calls due benevolence^d, though he
 by importunate entreaties requested the same. Being
 benevolence, it was uncharitable to deny it; being
 due, it was unjust to detain it; being both, she was
 uncharitable and unjust in the same action. Was
 not this a mockage of marriage (if in that age
 counted a sacrament) solemnly to give herself unto
 her husband, whom formerly she had passed away by

^a H. Porter's Flowers of the
 Saints, p. 393.

^b [Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 19.]

^c [Australium Girviorum.]

^d 1 Cor. vii. 3.

a previous vow of virginity? At last she wrested A.D. 694. leave from her husband to live a nun in the monastery of Ely, which she built and endowed. After her entrance therein she ever wore woollen, and never linen about her^d: which, whether it made her more holy, or less cleanly, let others decide. Our author tells us^e, that in memory of her, our English women are wont to wear about their necks a certain chain made of fine small silk, which they call Ætheldrith's chain. I must profess myself not so well acquainted with the sex, as either to confute or confirm the truth thereof. At last she died of a swelling in her throat, and was buried in Ely.

111. Sixteen years her corpse slept in a private A.D. 695. grave near her own convent; when it came into the head of bishop Wilfrith and her friends to bestow Her miraculous monument of marble. on her a more costly burial. But alas! the soft and fenny ground of Ely Isle (where scarce a stone big enough to bury a worm under it) afforded not a tombstone for that purpose. Being thus at a loss, their want is said to be miraculously supplied^f; for under the ruined walls of Grantchester, or Cambridge^g, a coffin was found, with a cover correspondent, both of white marble, which did fit her body so exactly, as if (which one may believe was

^d Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 19.

^e Porter, in his Flowers of the Saints, p. 601. Harpsfield, [Hist. Eccl. p. 85.]

^f Bede, ib.

^g [Grantchester near Cambridge. Bede attributes this circumstance to Sexburg sister of Ætheldrith, wife of Earconberct, king of Kent, who succeeded her sister as abbess. He

appears however to have taken his narrative from Wilfrith: and his words are remarkable upon this occasion:—"sicut et "præfatus Wilfrid et multi "alii qui *novere* testantur. "Sed *oertiori notitia* medicus "Cynifrid qui et morienti illi, "et *elevatæ de tumulto adfuit*," &c.]

A.D. 696. true) it was made for it. Herein was Audre's corpse stately enshrined, and for many years superstitiously adored.

Confuted
by a cre-
dible wit-
ness.

112. But Jo. Caius, fellow of Gonville-hall, within ten miles of Ely, at the dissolution of abbeyes, being reputed no great enemy to the Romish religion^b, doth on his own knowledge report,

Quamquam illius ævi cæ-
citas admirationem in eo
parit, quod regnante Hen.
nuper VIII, dirutum idem
sepulchrum ex lapide com-
muni fuit, non, ut Beda
narrat, ex albo marmoreⁱ.

“ Although the blindness of
“ that age bred admiration there-
“ in, yet when the tomb was
“ plucked down in the reign of
“ king Henry the Eighth, it was
“ found made of common stone,
“ and not of white marble, as
“ Bede reporteth.”

Thus was her tomb degraded and debased one degree, which makes the truth of all the rest to be suspected. And if all popish miracles were brought to the test, they would be found to shrink from marble to common stone, nay, from stone to dirt and untempered mortar.

A. D. 697.
The coun-
cil at Berk-
hempstead.

113. It is needless here to insert the canons concluded on at Berkhempstead by Wihtred king of Kent, and Brihtwald archbishop of Canterbury. First, because topical, confined to that small kingdom. Secondly, hard to be understood, as depending on some Saxon law-terms, whereon conjectures are the best comment. Thirdly, such as are understood are obsolete, viz. if a master gave his servant flesh to eat on a fasting-day, his servant was on the refusal, and complaint thereof, to be made free^k. Some punishments therein were very absurdly proportioned, viz.

^b [See Strype's Parker, p. 199.]

^k Spelman's Concil. I. 196, &c. [Wilkins, I. 60.]

ⁱ In his Hist. Cantab. i. p. 8.

six shillings or a whipping was to be paid by that A.D. 697.
 servant who ate flesh on fasting-days; and just the same penalty was inflicted on him if convicted of offering oblations to the Devil, as if equal their offences. And be it remembered, that this council was kept *cum viris quibusdam militaribus*, "some soldiers being present thereat;" and yet the fifth canon therein was made to punish adultery in men of their profession.

114. As for bishop Wilfrith¹, whom lately we mentioned so active about the removal of St. Audre's corpse, he was about this time restored to his bishopric of York^m. Whereupon he fairly quitted the bishopric of Selsey, which Edilwalch, and after Ceadwalla, kings of Sussex, bestowed upon himⁿ, and returned to York. It is much this rolling stone should gather so much moss, and get wealth enough to found two monasteries; who sometimes had three bishoprics together, York, Lindisfarn, and Hagulstad^o; sometimes none at all, living many years together in exile. And indeed he continued not

¹ [He was restored to his see in the second year of Aldfrith king of Northumberland, anno 686, after he had been reconciled to archbishop Theodore, who wrote a letter to Æthelred king of Mercia in Wilfrith's favour. Heddus, ib. ch. xlii. Five years after this he was again driven from his seat by king Alfred and the prelates, and returning a second time to Rome was acquitted of all charges brought against him, by John V., who wrote a letter in his behalf to Æthelred and Alfred. Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 19.]

^m [In the year 686, by the favour of king Aldfrith, who had succeeded his brother Ecgfrith in the kingdom of Northumberland. He also restored to Wilfrith the monastery of Rippon, and gave him at the same time the bishopric of Hexham. In the following year St. Cuthbert died, and Wilfrith held the vacant see of Lindisfarne for a year. See Heddus, ib. ch. xliii. Flor. Wigorn. an. 686, 687.]

ⁿ [See Heddus, ib. ch. xli.]

^o [That is, Hexham in Northumberland.]

A.D. 697. long in York, but being expelled thence again, was for a time made bishop of Leicester. Nor was the king of Northumberland content with his bare expulsion, but also he would have him confess the same legal, and resign it according to the late decrees which the archbishop of Canterbury had made against him. But more hereof, God willing, in the next century.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

THOMÆ ADAMIDI, SENATORI LONDINENSI,
MECÆNATI MEO.^a

In hac tanta rerum vicissitudine, quis, qui te novit, constantiam tuam non suspicit? Undique turbatur; Tu interim tibimet ipsi tota tranquillitas, cum Deo et bonis et studiis tuis vacas.

Perlegas, quæso, hanc Centuriam, vel eo nomine, quod funera tui et mei Bedæ exhibeat. Tuum dico, quia haud ita pridem sub auspiciis patronatus tui, typis Saxonice pulcherrimus prodiit; meum, quo auctore (vel potius authoribus) in hoc opere toties usus sum. Pluribus viro occupatissimo molestus esse nolo. Vale.



AINFUL Wilfrith was no sooner A.D. 701.

out of one trouble, but he was engaged in another. Hereupon^b Harpsfield Wilfrith persecuted afresh by Aldfrith king of Northumberland. calls him the Athanasius of that age; only, saith he, that father was perse-

cuted by heretics, and this Wilfrith by catholics. He might have added, that Athanasius was troubled

^a [Of this generous patron of learning and learned men, Fuller has given the following account in his History of Cambridge, p. 166. " Thomas Adams, then citizen, since lord mayor of London, deservedly commended for his Christian constancy in all conditions, founded an Arabian professorship, on condition it were frequented with competency of auditors. And notwithstanding the general jealousy that this new

" Araby, happy as all novelties
" at the first, would soon be-
" come desert, yet it seems it
" thrived so well, that the sa-
" lary was settled on Abraham
" Whelock, fellow of Clare
" hall." By his munificence
Whelock was enabled to bring
out his edition of Bede. In
the dedication of this work he
has paid a just compliment to
Adams. Arms: Ermine, three
cat-a-mountains passant guard-
ant in pale azure.]

^b Hist. Eccles. p. 95.

A.D. 701. for essential and doctrinal truths, whilst Wilfrith was vexed about ceremonious and circumstantial matters. And now Aldfrith, who succeeded Ecgfrith, king of Northumberland, powerfully opposed him, being the paramount prince, and in effect monarch of the Saxon heptarchy^c. For, as we have noted before, amongst these seven kings, as amongst the planets, there was ever one sun that outshined all the rest. This Aldfrith, joining with Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, called a council, and summoned Wilfrith, who appeared there accordingly^d. But being demanded whether he would obey the decrees of Theodore late archbishop of Canterbury, he warily returned, That he was willing to obey them so far as they were consonant to the holy canons. This answer was not satisfactory to his adversaries, as having in it too little of a grant to please them, and yet not enough of a denial to give them a just offence. Then they sought by fair means to persuade him, because much trouble had arose in the church about him, voluntarily to resign under hand and seal his possessions and archbishopric; affirming, it would be a glorious act to prefer the public good before his private profit. But Wilfrith persisted loyal to his own innocence, affirming such a cession might be interpreted a confession of his guiltiness, and ap-

^c [Spelman's arrangement of the chronology of this period is certainly wrong. Aldfrith succeeded his brother Ecgfrith in the year 685. (Saxon Chron. and Flor. Worcest. in an. 685.) In the second year of his reign Aldfrith restored Wilfrith to his see. Five years after (691) he was accused by the king

himself and several of the bishops, and banished. (Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 20.) The date of this council ought therefore to have been placed in the year 691, and not in 701.]

^d Malmsh. de Gestis Pont. iii. f. 151, b. Spelman's Concil. I. 201. [Wilkins, I. 6.]

pealed from that council to his holiness: and this A.D. 705.
tough old man, being seventy years of age, took a
journey to Rome, there to tug it out with his adver-
saries.

2. They accused him of contumacy, that he had Wilfrith
contemptuously denied canonical obedience to the appealeth
archbishop of Canterbury^e. He cleared himself, and to Rome,
complained that he had been unjustly deprived, and and is
that two monasteries of his own founding, Rippon acquitted.
and Hexham, were violently detained from him.
No fewer than seventy several councils^f (understand
them so many several meetings of the conclave)
were assembled in four months, and employed only
or chiefly about deciding of this difference: belike
there were intricacies therein more than are specified
in authors, (knots to employ so many cunning fin-
gers to untie them,) or else the court of Rome was
well at leisure. The sentence of pope John the
Seventh passed on his side, and his opposers were
sent home with blame and shame, whilst Wilfrith
returned with honour, managing his success with
much moderation, equally commendable, that his
innocence kept him from drooping in affliction, and
his humility from insulting in prosperity.

3. Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, humbly He is at
entertained the pope's letters in behalf of Wilfrith, last re-
and welcomed his person at his return. But Aldfrith, stored, and
king of Northumberland, refused to reseal him in dieth in
peace, an. 709.
his bishopric, stoutly maintaining, "that it was
" against reason to communicate with a man twice

^e [Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 19.]

^f "Septuaginta conciliabula coacta." Malmesbury, ib. f. 152.

A.D. 705. "condemned by the council of England, notwithstanding all apostolic commands in favour of him^g." But soon after he fell dangerously sick, a consequent of, and therefore caused by his former stubbornness; as those that construe all events to the advantage of the Roman see, interpret this a punishment on his obstinacy. Suppld with sickness, he confessed his fault; and so Wilfrith was restored to his place^h; whose life was like an April day, (and a day thereof is a month for variety,) often interchangeably fair and foul; and after many alterations he set fair in full lustre at last. Being forty-five years a bishop, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, he died, and was buried in his monastery at Rippon. And as he had been a great traveller when living, so his bones took one journey after his death, being translated by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, from Rippon to Canterbury, in reparation (perchance) for those many wrongs which the predecessors of Odo had done to this Wilfrithⁱ. Let not therefore the papists vaunt immoderately of the unity of their church, neither let them uncharitably insult on our unhappy differences, seeing by the confession of their own authors there was *digladiabile odium*, "hatred (as one

^g "Contra rationem, homini
" jam bis a toto Anglorum con-
" cilio damnato, propter quæli-
" bet Apostolica scripta com-
" municare." Malsbury, de
Gestis Pontificum, ib. f. 152.

^h [According to Bede, (Hist. Eccl. v. 20,) he was not restored in the time of Aldfrith, but by Osred his son, who succeeded him, in the year 705. See

also Flor. Wigorn., and Saxon Chron. an. 705.]

ⁱ Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 654. "Illi viri quos sanctissimos celebrat antiquitas, Theodorus, Bertualdus, Johannes, Bosa, nec non et Hilda Abbatissa, digladiabili odio impetierint Wilfridum Deo—acceptissimum." [Malsb. ib. f. 152.]

“ may say) even to daggers drawing” betwixt Wilfrith and certain principal persons, conceived signal for sanctity in that age, and sithence put into the calendar of their saints. And it is as sure, as sad a truth, that as long as corruption resides in the bosoms of the best, there will be dissensions, inflamed by malicious instruments, betwixt pious people, which otherwise agree in main matters of religion.

4. The bishopric of Sherborn was taken out of the bishopric of Winchester^j by king Ina, and Aldhelm his kinsman made first bishop thereof^k. I find no compensation given to the see of Winchester for this great canton cut out of it: as in after-ages, when Ely was taken out of Lincoln diocese, the manor of Spaldwick in Huntingdonshire was given by king Henry the First to Lincoln, in reparation of its loss, for so much of the jurisdiction taken from it. But at this time, when Sherborn was parted from Winchester, the damage to Winchester accruing thereby was not considerable; episcopal jurisdiction in that age not being beneficial, but rather burdensome. So that Winchester might turn her complaints into thankfulness, being thus eased of her cumbersome greatness. This Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborn, was the first of our English nation who

^j [This division was made at a synod held about the year 705. (See Wilkins' Concil. I. p. 70, and Wharton's Ang. Sac. II. p. 20.) Most probably in conformity to the resolutions made at the council of Heathfield in 680 (Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 17.), and the growing necessities of that large province, but slowly converted to Chris-

tianity. Daniel was appointed to the diocese of Winchester.]

^k [Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 18. See the life of this bishop written at considerable length by Will. Malmsb. in Wharton's Angl. Sac. II. 1, and in Gale's Scriptores, I. 337. See also Malmsb. De Gestis Reg. f. 6.]

A. D. 705. wrote in Latin, and the first that taught Englishmen to make Latin verse, according to his promise¹,

Primus ego in patriam necum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice musas.

If life me last, that I do see that native soil of mine,
From Aon top I'll first with me bring down the muses nine.

He wrote many works; one of virginity^m, another of the celebration of Easter: and about this time the libraries of monasteries began to be replenished with books, many being written in that age.

Multitude
of books
created by
a mistake.

5. By the way, one mistake (I could not have discerned it myself, had not a learned writer discovered it unto me) makes books of this age more numerous, and the kings therein more learned than indeed they wereⁿ. Namely, because every Latin charter granted by any king to a monastery is termed by the Saxon writers, *liber* or *libellus*, "a book °." Wherefore, when they tell us of such and such books made by the Saxon kings, understand we most of them of their charters of donation. In which sense king Edgar, who some two hundred years after this time founded as many monasteries as weeks in the year, and consequently made as many charters, was a voluminous writer of no less than fifty-two books. And yet this large acception of books will not make up the number which Bale and Pitz pretend they have seen in this age. A

¹ Camden's *Britannia* in Wiltshire, [p. 177.]

^m Bede, [Hist. Eccl. v. 19.]

ⁿ Spelman's Concil. I. 210.

^o [The lands of the Saxons which were held by charter was called "boc-land," or "book-land:" it was from this

that the word "*libellus*," being used for a translation of the word "book," came to signify a charter. The word "book" is frequently used in our early English writers in as extensive a sense.]

vanity in them to affect a title-learning, (though a stationer's apprentice after some weeks' experience might excel them therein,) and the greater, because many imaginary authors which they make as if they had seen, either were never extant, or long since extinguished. A.D. 705.

6. But the multitude of books increaseth not our marvel so much as the numerosity of saints, such as they were, in this age; whereof four parts of five, according to the heraldry of such who wrote their lives, were of royal or noble extraction. It addeth to the wonder, because St. Paul saith, *Not many noble are called*^P: except any confine that observation of the apostle to times of persecution, whereas Christianity now in England flourished in all peace and prosperity. But, to render their noble parentage at this time the more probable, know, that under the Saxon heptarchy royalty was increased sevenfold in England, which must beget a proportionable multiplication of nobility attending them. Yet, when all is done, as the Jewish rabbins, on their bare tradition, without ground from scripture, make Ruth the daughter to Eglon king of Moab, merely to make the descent of their king David from her the more illustrious: so it is suspicious, that to advance the temporal reputation of these saints, such monks as wrote their lives causelessly clarified and refined many of their bloods into noble extraction. However, if truly pious indeed, such saints have the best nobility in the scripture sense, *These were more noble, because they received the word with all readiness of mind*^Q.

P 1 Cor. i. 26.

Q Acts xvii. 11.

A. D. 7c8.

St. Guth-
lake the
first Saxon
hermite.

7. Of these noble saints, St. Guthlake, a Benedictine monk, was the first Saxon that professed an eremitical life in England; to which purpose he chose a fenny place in Lincolnshire, called Crowland, that is, the raw, or crude-land^r; so raw indeed, that before him no man could digest to live therein. Yea, the devils are said to claim this place as their peculiar, and to call it "their own land^s." Is any place but the prison of hell properly theirs? Yet wonder not at their presumption, pretending this spot of ground to be theirs, whose impudence durst affirm that God had given them *all the world, and the glory thereof*^t. Could those infernal fiends, tortured with immaterial fire, take any pleasure, or make any ease to themselves by paddling here in puddles, and dabbling in the moist dirty marshes? However, Guthlake took the boldness to enter common with them, and erect his cell in Crowland. But if his prodigious life may be believed, ducks and mallards do not now flock thither faster in September, than herds of devils came about him; all whom he is said victoriously to have vanquished. But, whom Satan's power could not foil, his policy had almost destroyed; by persuading Guthlake to fast forty days and nights together, after the example of Moses and Elias^u; till, finding this project destructive to nature, he was forced in his own defence to take some necessary, but very sparing refection. He died in his

^r [See Ingulphi Hist. Croyland. p. 5. The life of St. Guthlake, written by Felix, a monk who lived in the middle of the same century, has been published by Mabillon in his Act. Sanct. Benedict. Sæc. III.

p. 263, and in the Acta Sanctorum, xi April, t. II. p. 38.]

^s Porter's Flowers of the Saints, p. 348.

^t Matt. iv. 8.

^u Porter, *ibid.* p. 347.

own cell, and Pega his sister, an anchoritess, led a A.D. 708.
solitary life not far from him^w.

8. Eoves also, a poor plain man, was eminent in ^{A swinish} ^{conceit of a}
this age^x: a shepherd, say some; a neatherd, others; ^{monk.}
a swineherd, say the third sort, and that most probable. For whilst he lived in Worcestershire, not far from the river Avon, the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared unto him, even where (farewell all good tokens) "he found a lost sow with seven pigs sucking upon her^y," and to have given order that in that very place a monastery should be erected to her honour. The beastly monk who made this vision had e'en learned as far as Virgil's *Æneids*, whence he fetched the platform of this pretty conceit, a place so marked being foretold fortunate to *Æneas*, to found Alba (since Rome) therein.

Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
Triginta capitum fœtus enixa jacebit
Alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati:
Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum^z.

Where under oaks on shore there shall be found
A mighty sow, all white, cast on the ground,
With thirty sucking pigs; that place is 'sign'd
To build your town, and ease your wearied mind.

Here the monk, *mutatis mutandis*, (but principally shrinking the number of the pigs from thirty to seven, as more mystical,) he applies the apparition to his purpose. A pretty parallel, that pagan Rome, and popish superstition, if hue-and-cry should be

^w [She afterwards went to Rome and died there. For an account of her and others, successors of Guthlake, see Inulph Hist. Croyl. p. 5.]

^x [See Wharton's Ang. Sac. I. 470.]

^y Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 448.

^z *Æneidos* iii. 390.

A. D. 708. made after them, might be discovered by the same marks. This gave the first motion to the foundation of Eovesham abbey, so called from Eoves aforesaid, first built in that sow-place.

The first
synod for
image-
worship in
England.

9. But the building thereof was hastened by a second, more neat and cleanly, apparition of the Virgin Mary in the same place; who is pretended to have shewed herself, with two maiden-attendants, to Ecgwin, bishop of Worcester, prompting him to expedite a structure therein^a. Ecgwin posts presently to Rome, and makes faith of this vision to Constantine the pope; who convinced in his judgment of the truth thereof, dispatcheth his commands to

A. D. 709. Brightwald, archbishop of Canterbury, to assemble a synod at Alnecester in Worcestershire, to promote the building of an abbey in that place: which was done accordingly, and the same was bountifully endowed by Offa, and other Mercian kings, with very large revenues. And not long after, another synod, saith my author^b, was called at London, to introduce into England the doctrine of image-worship, not heard of before, and now first beginning to appear in the public practice thereof.

Binnius
and Baro-
nius sullen,
and why.

10. Here we expected that Binnius and Baronius, two of the Romish champions, should have been both joyful at, and thankful for this London synod in favour of image-worship, a point so beneficial to the popish coffers. But behold them, contrary to our expectation, sad and sullen; insomuch as they

^a Spelman's Concil. I. 210. [Wilkins, I. 71.]

^b Magdeburgenses Centur. [Cent. VIII. §. 9. p. 536. ed. Basil.] Sed ex recentioribus

authoribus, Nauclero viz. et Balæo. [Cent. i. §. 91. See the remarks of Spelman, ib. They are also in Wilkins, I. 72.]

cast away the credit of this synod, as of no account, A.D. 709. and disdain to accept the same. For, say they, long before, by Augustine the monk, worship of images was introduced into England. But let them shew us when and where the same was done. We deny not but that Augustine brought in with him, in a banner, the image of Christ on the cross, very lively depicted^c; but this makes nothing to the worshipping thereof. Vast the distance in their own nature betwixt the historical use and adoration of pictures; though, through human corruption, the former in after-ages hath proved introductory to the latter. Nor was it probable that Augustine would deliver doctrine point-blank against Gregory, that sent him, who most zealously inveigheth against all worshipping of images^d. Wherefore, let Binnius and Baronius make much of this London synod for image-worship, or else they must be glad to accept of later councils in England to prove the same, seeing before this time none can be produced tending thereunto.

11. Now also flourished another noble-born saint, ^{The miracle working of} namely, John of Beverley, archbishop of York, ^{St. John of} ^{Beverley.}

^c See our second book, Cent. vi. parag. 10. [p. 141.]

^d In his epistle ad Serenum Massiliensem, [lib. vii. ep. 110. et ix. ep. 9. ed. Labbe. But not the use of images; employing the same arguments in their favour as the Romanists of later days. For though he commends Serenus for not permitting the adoration of images, he reproves him for breaking them and throwing them away; thus arguing: "Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturæ historiam quid sit

"adorandum addiscere. Nam
"quod legentibus scriptura,
"hoc idiotis præstat pictura
"cernentibus, quia in ipsa
"etiam ignorantes vident quod
"sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt
"qui litteras nesciunt." Ep.
ix. 9. The historical use of
images was not disliked by
some learned protestants in
our own church; but the abuse
of them rendered their removal
at the Reformation a matter of
necessity. The letter of Gre-
gory is worthy both of his
character and sobriety.]

A. D. 709. learned man, and who gave the education to one more learned than himself, I mean venerable Bede^e. Now, though John Baptist did none^f, yet John of Beverley is said to have done many miracles. But did not the monk overdo, who reports in his relation, that this John of Beverley, by making the sign of the cross on a dumb youth with a scalled head, not only restored him to speech and an head of hair, but eloquent discourse and brave “curled locks^g?”

A. D. 718. Some years before his death he quitted his archbishopric, and retired himself to his monastery at Beverley, where he died; and which afterwards king Athelstan made (I will not call it a sanctuary, because unhallowed with the largeness of the liberties allowed thereunto, but) a place of refuge for murderers and malefactors: so that the freed-stool in Beverley became *the seat of the scornful*; and, such heinous offenders as could recover the same, did therein securely defy all legal prosecution against them.

Kings and
queens turn
monks and
nuns.

12. About this time it grew fashionable with kings and queens in England to renounce the world, and turn monks and nuns, commonly in convents of their own foundation. Surely it is not only lawful, but commendable, for men to leave the world before it leaveth them, by *being crucified thereunto, and using it as if they used it not^h*. But let others dispute whether this properly be renouncing the world, for Christians to bury their parts and persons in a cloi-

^e Bede acknowledgeth that he received the order of priesthood from him at the conclusion of his history. [See also Bede's Hist. Eccl. v. 2—6.

Godwin de Præsul. p. 655.]

^f John x. 41.

^g Flowers of the Lives of English Saints, p. 416.

^h Gal. vi. 14.

ster, which, put forth to the bank, would turn to A. D. 718. good account for church and commonwealth. David, I dare say as holy a man as any of these, lived a king and died a king: the swaying of his sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his harp, his dignity being no impediment to his devotion. And whilst these kings turning monks pretended to go out of the world, a world of spiritual pride and superstition went into them, if, as it is too suspicious, they had an high opinion to merit heaven therebyⁱ.

13. Amongst the Saxon princes who thus re-nounced the world, in this and the next century, these nine following were the principal:

King Ina
his fine and
rent to the
church.

1. Cynegils, king of West-Saxons.
2. Ina, king of West-Saxons.
3. Ceolwolfus, king of Northumberland.
4. Eadberht, king of Northumberland.
5. Æthelred, king of Mercia.
6. Cenred, king of Mercia.
7. Offa, king of East-Saxons.
8. Sebbi, king of East-Saxons.
9. Seabyrht, king of East-Angles.

Of all whom king Ina was paramount for his reputed piety, who accounted himself to hold all that he had of God, his landlord in chief, paid not only a great fine, but settled a constant rent on the church, then accounted the receiver-general of the God of heaven. Great fine; for besides his benefaction to other, he bestowed on the church of Glassenbury^j two thousand six hundred forty pounds weight^k, in the

ⁱ [It was at this period that pilgrimages to Rome came into repute. Bede's Chron. p. 33.]

^j [Of which he was the

founder. See Malmsb. De Gestis, f. 7.]

^k Spelman's Concil. I. 229. [Wiklin, I. 81.]

A. D. 718. utensils thereof, of massy gold and silver. So that whiles some admire at his bounty, why he gave so much; others wonder more at his wealth, how he got so much; being in that age wherein such dearth of coin, and he, though perchance the honorary monarch of England, but the effectual king of the

A. D. 726. West-Saxons. The constant rent he settled were the Peter-pences to the pope of Rome¹, to be paid out of every fire-house in England, (a small sum in the single drops, but swelling great in the general channel,) which, saith Polydore Virgil^m, this king Ina began in England. I say, Polydore Virgil, (and let every artificer be believed in his own art,) seeing, as he confesseth, this place was his first preferment in England, which brought him over to be the pope's publican, or collector of that contribution. Afterwards this king went to Rome, and there built a school for the English, and a church adjoining unto it, to bury their dead.

A. D. 730. Wynfrith, an Englishman, converteth the Germans. 14. But, if my judgment mistake not, Wynfrith, an Englishman, was better employed, being busied about this time to convert to Christ the provinces of Franconia and Hessia, in Germany. True it is, the English were indebted to the Dutch, from them formerly deriving their original by natural generation: and now none will censure them for incest, if the son begat his parents; and this Wynfrith, descended from the Dutch, was an active instrument of their regenerationⁿ.

¹ Parker, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 87.
^m [Hist. Angl. p. 118. ed. 1651.]

ⁿ [See the life of this saint,

who afterwards adopted the name of Boniface, published with his letters. Magontiaci, 1789.]

15. Now, although many in this age posted from A. D. 730. England to Rome, possessed with an high opinion of the holiness thereof; yet sure I am, one of the best ^{Bede, though sent for, went not to Rome.} judgment, namely, Venerable Bede, was often sent for by pope Sergius himself to come to Rome; yet, for ought we can find, never went thither: which no doubt he would not have declined, if sensible of any transcendent sanctity in that place to advantage the dwellers therein the nearer to heaven. This Bede was born in the kingdom of Northumberland, at Girwiiⁿ, now Yarrow, in the bishopric of Durham, brought up by St. Cuthbert^o, and was the profoundest scholar in his age for Latin, Greek, philosophy, history, divinity, mathematics, music, and what not? Homilies of his making were read in his lifetime in the Christian churches, a dignity afforded to him alone. We are much beholding to his Ecclesiastical History, written by him, and dedicated to Ceolwulfus, king of Northumberland. A worthy work indeed, though in some respect we could heartily wish that his faith had been less, and his charity more. Faith less, in believing and reporting so many prodigious miracles of the Saxons: except any will say, that this in him was not so much *vitium hominis* as *seculi*. Charity more, I mean to the Britons, being no friend to them, and over-partial to his own countrymen; slightly and slenderly touching British matters, only thereof to make a pedestal, the more fairly to rear and advance his Saxon history thereupon.

16. Some report that Bede never went out of his cell, but lived and died therein^p. If so, the scholars ^{Bede probably went out of his cell.}

ⁿ Camden's Brit. p. 606. pupil of Bede's.]

^o [An oversight for abbot ^p [This is further confirmed
Ceolfrid, for Cuthbert was a by Bede's own letter to Eg-

A. D. 730. of Cambridge will be very sorry, because thereby deprived of their honour, by Bede's living once in their university; whose house they still shew, betwixt St. John's college and Round-Church, or St. Sepulchre's. Surely Bede was not fixed to his cell, as the cockle to his shell, seeing no observance of his Benedictine order imposed such a penance upon him. Indeed his own words, in the end of his book, give some countenance to their conjecture of his voluntary confinement; speaking of himself, *Cunctum tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peragens*. But his expression imports only his general residence therein, that he was no gadder abroad, or discontinuer from his convent, for a long time; though he might for some short space make his abode elsewhere. Thus, when of the prophetess it is said, *that she departed not from the temple*^a; we understand it not so, as if she never went out thereof; but that for the main she spent the most of her time therein.

Bede why
surnamed
Venerabilis.

17. He is generally surnamed *Venerable*, but why, authors differ therein^r. Some say; a dunce monk, being to make his epitaph, was nonplused to make that dactyl, which is only of the quorum in the hexameter, and therefore at night left the verse thus gaping—

Hic sunt in fossa Bedæ———ossa.

till he had consulted with his pillow to fill up the

bert bishop of York; printed in Smith's Bede, p. 800.]

^a Luke ii. 37.

^r [Apparently this name was not given to Bede till the ninth century. In the earlier writers he is termed Beda Presbyter.

The term *venerabilis* (according to some authors) was first applied to those who followed a stricter observance of monastic discipline than was usual. See Smith's dissertation in his edition of Bede, p. 807.]

hiatus. But returning in the morning, an angel (we A. D. 730.
 have often heard of their singing, see now of their poetry,) had filled up the chasm with *venerabilis*. Others, disclaiming this conceit, assign this reason ; because Bede's homilies were, as aforesaid, read in all churches in his lifetime^s ; plain Bede was conceived too little, and St. Bede too much ; because, according to popish (but not St. Paul's) principles, *saint* is too much flattery to be given to any whilst alive ; Solon allowing none happy, and this mine author none, in this degree, holy, before their death. Wherefore *venerable* was found out as an expedient to accommodate the difference, luckily hitting the mark, as a title neither too high nor too low ; just even to so good a man and great a scholar, whilst alive. This is observable in all those who have written the life of Bede ; that whereas such Saxon saints as had not the tenth of his sanctity, nor hundredth part of his learning, are said to have wrought miracles *ad lectoris nauseam* ; not one single miracle is reported to have been done by Bede. Whereof, under favour, I conceive this the reason : monks, who wrote the lives of many of their saints, knew little more of many of them than their bare names and times wherein they lived ; which made them *historiæ vacua miraculis supplere*, "to plump up the hollowness of their history with improbable miracles," swelling the bowels of their books with empty wind, in default of sufficient solid food to fill them. Whereas Bede's life affording plenty and variety of real and effectual matter, the writer thereof (why should a rich man be a thief or liar?) had no temptation, I am sure no need, to farce his book with

^s Porter's Flowers of the Saints, in the life of Bede, p. 528.

A. D. 730. fond miracles, who might rather leave than lack of material passages therein.

A. D. 734.
Bede's last
blaze, and
the going
out of the
candle of
his life.

18. One of the last things he did was the translating of the Gospel of St. John into English. When death seized on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary or amanuensis, complained, "My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten." "Write it, then, quickly," replied Bede: and summoning all his spirits together, like the last blaze of a candle going out, he indited it, and expired. Thus God's children are immortal, whiles their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth; and death, *that beast, cannot overcome and kill them, till first they have finished their testimony*[†]: which done, like silkworms, they willingly die when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours. Nor have I aught else to observe of Bede, save only this; a foreign ambassador, some two hundred years since, coming to Durham, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of St. Cuthbert, "If thou beest a saint, pray for me:" then coming to the plain, low, and little tomb of Bede, "Because," said he, "thou art a saint, good Bede, pray for me^u."

[†] Rev. xi. 7.

^u [See the exquisite description of his death by his pupil Cuthbert, who attended him in his last moments, in Smith's Bede, p. 792; and in Symeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. ch. xv. The following compliment was paid to his memory by one of the most judicious of all our early writers, whose account of Bede is written with much elegance and feeling. "Sepulta est cum eo omnis gestorum pene notitia usque

"ad nostra tempora. Adeo
"nullus Anglorum, studiorum
"ejus æmulus, nullus gratia-
"rum ejus sequax fuit, qui
"omissæ monetæ lineam pro-
"sequeretur: pauci quos æ-
"quus amavit Jesus, quamvis
"litteris non ignobiliter infor-
"mati, vita tota ingratum con-
"sumpserunt silentium: alii
"vix primis libris illas gustan-
"tes ignavum confoverunt oti-
"um. Ita cum semper pigro
"succederet pigrior, multo
"tempore in tota insula studi-

19. Now began the Saxons to be infected with an universal viciousness, the cause whereof was; Æthelbald, king of Mercia, contemned marriage: and though abstinence from it in some cases may be commendable, the contempt thereof always is dangerous, yea damnable, as it proved in him; for his unlawful lust made no difference of places or persons, castles or cloisters, common kerchief or nun's veil, all came alike to him. But, oh the legislative power which is in a great prince his example! His subjects presumed they might not only *impune*, but *legitime*, follow his precedent; which made the land swarm with wickedness^w.

A. D. 735.
The general
viciousness
of the Sax-
ons, how
occasioned.

“ orum detepuit fervor. Mag-
“ num ignaviæ testimonium da-
“ bunt versus epitaphii sui,
“ perdendi prorsus et tanti viri
“ mausoleo indigni.

“ Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne
“ sepultus;
“ Dona Christe animam in cœlis gau-
“ dere per evum:
“ Daque illi sophiæ debriari fonte, cui
“ jam
“ Suspiravit ovans, intento semper
“ amore.”

WILL. MALMSB. f. 12.]

^w [See the letter of arch-
bishop Boniface to king Æthel-
bald, and another to Herefrid;
in Wilkins' Conc. I. p. 86. &c.
Malmsbury has given an ab-
breviation of the first in his
history De Gestis Reg. f. 14. b.
The corruption of this country
is strikingly displayed, particu-
larly in Boniface's letter to arch-
bishop Cuthbert, where these
words occur: “ Perpaucæ sunt
“ civitates in Longobardia, vel
“ in Francia, aut in Gallia, in
“ quibus non sit adultera vel
“ meretrix generis Anglorum,
“ quod scandalum est et turpi-

“ tudo totius ecclesiæ vestræ.”
(Wilkins' Conc. I. p. 93.) The
writer proceeds to state that one
great cause of this immorality
was the interference of the laity,
their taking away the monas-
teries and religious houses from
the control of the bishops, and a
general intermeddling in eccle-
siastical affairs from motives of
cupidity. He also subjoins an-
other reason, which shews the
state of the times; “ aliquod
“ levamentum turpitudinis es-
“ set, si prohiberet synodus et
“ principes vestri muliebribus
“ et velatis fœminis illud iter
“ et frequentiam, quam ad Ro-
“ manam civitatem veniendo et
“ redeundo faciunt, quia magna
“ ex parte pereunt, paucis re-
“ manentibus integris.” (See
also Bonifacii Epist. liv. lxxi.
lxxii. lxxiii.)

England, whilst governed by
the Saxons, was at its greatest
height for learning and religion
in the time of Bede; after his
death, it very rapidly declined.
See the extracts from the let-

A. D. 735.

The effect
of Boniface
his letter to
the king of
Mercia.

20. This caused the letter of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, (an Englishman born, and lately very eminent for converting the Germans to Christianity,) to king Æthelbald; wherein he observed the prudent method of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. As the apostle first commended them, *I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, &c.*, so he began with a large encomium of king Æthelbald his charity and bountiful almsgiving. Hence seasonably he descended to his faults; *shall I praise you in this? I praise you not*; and soundly and roundly told him of his notorious incontinency; proving, both by scripture and reason, the heinousness of that sin, and heavy judgments of God upon it. In fine, this wrought so far on the king's good nature, that he not only reformed himself, but with Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, called a solemn synod at Cloves-ho, or Clives-at-ho, for the reformation of others†.

A. D. 747.
Cliff in Kent
probably
the ancient
Cloves-ho.

21. But where this Cloves-ho should be, authors make much inquiry. It is generally conceived the same with Cliff, near Gravesend, in Kent. Though a learned author‡ will hardly consent thereunto; and his intimations to the contrary are of no great validity. For whereas he allegeth that this Cliff is in Kent, whilst Æthelbald, who called this synod, was king of Mercia; he minded not meantime, what no doubt he knew well, that this Æthelbald is styled in

ters of Alcuin in Malmsb. f. 13.]

* 1 Cor. xi. 2. 22.

† [The Saxon Chron. and other authorities date this synod in the year 742. See Wilkins' Conc. I. 86. Spelman following archbp. Parker and the

Fasti of sir Henry Savile, fixes it in the year 747. See his note in Wilkins' Conc. I. 94. But the MS. of Flor. Wigorn. in Corpus Coll. Oxford, places it in the year 748.]

‡ Camden's Brit. in Kent, p. 233. [Wilkins' Conc. I. 94.]

the letter of Boniface archbishop of Mentz unto him, A.D. 747.
incl̃yta Anglorum imperii scepra gubernans, "ruling
 the famous sceptre of the English empire^a." And
 whereas he objecteth "the site of that place incon-
 venient for such an assembly;" it seems fit enough,
 though confessed dirty in winter, and unhealthy at
 all times, for the vicinity thereof to London and
 Canterbury, the residing places of the king and arch-
 bishop, the two persons in this synod most concerned.
 Nor doth the modern meanness of the place make
 any thing against it; it might be a gallant in that
 age, which is a beggar nowadays. And though we
 confess there be many Cliffs in the inland shires,
 properly belonging to Mercia; yet the addition of
 Ho, or Haw, speaketh the maritime posture thereof.
 So that Clives-ho, or Haw, seems to be a cliff near
 the sea, well agreeing to the situation of Cliff, in
 Kent aforesaid^b.

22. But the acts of this synod are more certain The chief
canons of
this synod.
 than the place thereof, being generally accounted
 one and thirty canons, although some small variation
 in their number and order, all extant at large in
 Malmsbury^c; and of which we take notice of these
 four, as of most concernment:

i. "That the priests learn, and teach^d to know
 "the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and words of consecra-
 "tion in the mass (or eucharist) in the English
 "tongue^e." It seems learning then ran low, that the

^a Extant in Spelman's Con-
 cil, p. 233. [Wilkins, I. 87.]

^b Plimmouth Haw. See
 Speed his Survey of London,
 the meaning of Haw. [?]
 Upon Clovesho see Gibson's
 Index to his edition of the Saxon

Chronicle.

^c De Gestis Pont. i. f. 112.

^d "Discant, et doceant."
 Malmsbury, ib. [See also Wil-
 kins' Conc. I. 94. where the
 acts of this synod are printed
 at length.]

A.D. 747. priests themselves had need to learn them; yet ignorance was not then so high, but that the people were permitted to be taught them^f.

ii. "That the Lord's Day be honourably observed." We understand it not so, as if the sanctity of that day depended only upon ecclesiastical constitutions; or that the command thereof in scripture is so infirm, in point of right to oblige men's consciences, that it needs the title of man's power, *ad corroborandum*: only human authority was here cast in as overweight, for the better observation of the day. Carnal men being more affected, and affrighted with corporal penalties of man's inflicting, as nearer unto them, than with eternal punishments, which Divine justice at a distance denounceth against them.

^e [The article subjoins, "Ne
" vel in ipsis intercessionibus,
" quibus pro populi delictis
" Deum exorare noscuntur, vel
" ministerii sui officiis inveni-
" antur quasi muti et ignari,
" si non intelligant nec verbo-
" rum suorum sensum, nec sa-
" cramenta," &c.]

^f [One principal cause of learning being at so low an ebb, is to be traced to the mismanagement of monasteries; for it appears that not only the princes of the land, but the superiors also of these houses, united in treating the monks like slaves and mechanics, and employed them in servile offices. And this abuse, in obedience to the directions of archbishop Boniface, is several times reprov'd in the decrees of this synod. Thus Boniface says, "De violenta quoque
" monachorum servitute ope-

" ribus et ædificiis regalibus
" quæ in toto mundo Christia-
" norum non auditur facta nisi
" tantum in gente Anglorum,"
&c. (Wilk. I. 93.) Then in the fourth act of the synod, giving directions to the heads of religious houses, these words occur; "ita tamen ut familias
" suas meminerint digne in
" Domino diligere et non in
" vice servorum," &c. And in the seventh, where it enjoins the monks to study; "nec
" sint rectores terrenæ tam
" avidi operationis, ut domus
" Dei desolatione spiritalis or-
" naturæ vilescat."

The acts of this synod deserve particular attention, as describing many of the abuses which afterwards existed in the church, and applying to them the same remedies which were afterwards used by our reformers.]

iii. "That the sin of drunkenness be avoided, A.D. 747.
 "especially in the clergy." Indeed it was high time
 to suppress that sin, which was grown so rife, that
 (as Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, doth observe in
 his letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury^s)
 the English bishops were so far from punishing it,
 that they were guilty of the same. Moreover, he
 addeth, [*Ebrietas*] *malum speciale est nostræ gentis :*
hoc nec Franci, nec Galli, nec Longobardi, nec Ro-
mani, nec Græci faciunt ; "Drunkenness is a special
 "evil of our nation, namely, of the Saxons, of which
 "country this Boniface was a native ; for neither
 "Franks, nor Gauls, nor Lombards, nor Romans, nor
 "Greeks, (understand him anciently, for we know
 "the modern proverb of a merry Greek,) are guilty
 "thereof."

iv. "That prayers be publicly made for kings and
 "princes." An excellent canon indeed, because ca-
 nonical scripture, and long before made by St. Paul
 himself ; *I exhort, therefore, that supplications be*
made for all men, for kings, &c.^h

This synod being finished with the royal assent,
 and all the bishops their subscriptions thereunto ;
 Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, with wonderful
 celerity, returned the canons concluded therein, by
 Cynebryht his deacon, to Boniface, archbishop of
 Mentz, who was affected with great joy at the sight
 thereof.

23. At this time flourished Ecgberht, archbishop ^{Ecgberht,}
 of York, famous in his generation ; for, first his royal ^{archbishop}
 extraction, being brother to Eadberht, king of North- ^{of York, fa-}
^{mous in se-}
^{veral re-}
^{spects.}

^s Extant in Spelman's Concil. I. 241 ; and Wilkins, I. 93.

^h 1 Tim. ii. 1.

A.D. 747. umberland; both of them lovingly lying buried together in the porch of the church of York. For in that age the greatest princes and prelates their corpses came no nearer than the church porch, and, as I may say, only knocked at the church doors; though in after-ages the bodies of meaner persons were admitted into the church, and buried therein¹. Secondly, for his procuring the archiepiscopal pall to his see. For after the departure, or rather the banishment, of Paulinus from York, his successors were content with the plain title of bishop, until this Ecgerht, to do something extraordinary, proportionable to his princely extraction, procured the restitution of his pall, which *ipso facto* readvanced his church into an archbishopric. Thirdly, for furnishing the same with a plentiful library, highly commended by Alcuinus, in his epistle to Charles the Great^k, wishing France had the like; which, though exceeding England in paper, till of late years ever came short of it in books. Fourthly, for his canons for the regulating of his province. Whereof one sort is called Ecgerht his Excerptions out of Fathers^l, and is generally good; the other entitled, Canons for the Remedy of Sin, and are fraught with abundance of abominable beastliness and superstition.

¹ [See Will. of Malmsbury, f. 12. b.]

^k [See the extract of this letter, published in Malmsb. ibid.]

^l At large in Spelman's Concil. I. p. 258. [Wilkins' Conc. I. 101. Upon these Excerptions, see Johnson's notes in his Collection of Canons, under this year, which have also been print-

ed by Wilkins. Fuller, following Sir H. Spelman, dates these excerptions 750, not that Spelman had any authority for so doing, but because it was his rule when the date was uncertain to take the middle year of the reign in question, and that was 750. See Johnson as above.]

24. I will give the reader only a taste, or rather a A. D. 750. distaste, of these canons, by which he may guess the The beastly canons of Egberht. rest. "If a layman hath carnal knowledge of a nun, "let him do penance for two years, &c., she three. "If a child be begotten betwixt them, then four "years: if they kill it, then seven years' penance^m." Penance also is provided for bestiality and sodomy in the same canons. Thus, where God in scripture denounceth death, *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shedⁿ*; they now changed it into penance, and in after-ages commuted that penance into money; so by degrees *making the word of God of none effect* by their paltry canons. See we here also how forced virginity was the mother of much uncleanness, it being applicable to them what the apostle speaketh of others: *It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret^o*. And one may justly admire how these canonists, being pretended virgins, could arrive at the knowledge of the criticisms of all obscenity; so that chaste love may lie seven and seven years in the undefiled marriage bed, and be utterly ignorant what the language of lust meaneth in such filthy canons. Yea, when such love, by the help of an interpreter, shall understand the same, it would blush for shame, were it not that red would be turned into paleness, as amazed at so horrid uncleanness.

25. Some five years after, Kenulphus, king of A. D. 755. West-Saxons, conferred large privileges on the mo- The charter of Kenulphus to the abbot of Abingdon. nastery of Abingdon. We will recite so much of his charter^p as concerns us, because useful to shew the

^m See Spelman, ib. p. 282.

ⁿ Gen. ix. 6.

^o Ephes. v. 12.

^p Cited by Stanford, *Les plees del Coron. B. ii. f. 111.* ed. 1576. And this charter

A. D. 755. power which kings in that age had in ecclesiastical matters.

Kenulphus, rex—per literas suas patentes, consilio et consensu episcoporum, et senatorum gentis suæ, largitus fuit monasterio de Abindon in comitatu Berk, ac cuidam Ruchino tunc abbati monasterii—quandam ruris sui portionem, id est, quindecim mansias in loco, qui a ruricolis tunc nuncupabatur Culnam, cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eandem pertinentibus, tam in magnis, quam in modicis rebus, in æternam hereditatem. Et, quod prædictus Ruchinus, ab omni regis obstaculo, et episcopali jure in sempiternum esset quietus, ut inhabitatores ejus nullius regis aut ministrorum suorum episcopi, ut aut suorum officialium jugo inde deprimantur. Sed in cunctis rerum eventibus, et discussionibus causarum, abbatis monasterii prædicti decreto subjiciantur. Ita quod, &c.

“ Kenulphus, king, &c. by
“ his letters patents, with the
“ advice and consent of the
“ bishops and counsellors of
“ his country, hath given to
“ the monastery of Abingdon,
“ in the county of Berks, and
“ to one Ruchine, then abbot
“ of the monastery, &c. a cer-
“ tain portion of his land, that
“ is to say, fifteen mansions,
“ in a place which then of the
“ inhabitants was called Cul-
“ nam, with all profits to the
“ same belonging, as well in
“ great as mean matters, as an
“ inheritance for ever. And,
“ that the aforesaid Ruchine,
“ &c. should be for ever acquit
“ from all episcopal jurisdic-
“ tion, that the inhabitants
“ thereof be thenceforth op-
“ pressed with the yoke of no
“ bishop, or his officials; but
“ in all events of matters, and
“ discussions of causes, they
“ be subject to the decree of
“ the abbot of the aforesaid
“ monastery. So that,” &c.

From this charter, sir Edward Coke, the king's attorney, inferreth^q, that king Kenulphus had ecclesiastical jurisdiction in himself, in that he had power

was pleaded 1. Hen. vii. f. 23. et 25. [according to Stanford, ib. This charter is printed at length from an Inspeximus 10

Edw. III. n. §. 30. in the Monasticon, I. 514. ed. 1817.]

^q His Reports, part 5. f. 9. [ed. 1605.]

to discharge and exempt this abbot from the jurisdiction of the bishop; which ecclesiastical jurisdiction was always invested in the imperial crown of England: and therefore the statute made under Henry the eighth, concerning the king's spiritual authority, "was not introductory of a new law, but "declaratory only of an old."

26. But father Parsons, for he it is who stands under the visage of the catholic divine, in a book wrote of set purpose against master attorney in this point, will by no means allow king Kenulphus any ecclesiastical power, but by many fetches seeks to evade so pregnant a proof^r.

The cavils
of Parsons
against sir
Edw. Coke
confuted.

Arg. 1. First he pleadeth, "that in this charter "Kenulphus did not exempt the abbot from all jurisdiction spiritual of the bishop, but from some "temporal interest or pretence, which perhaps the "bishop of the diocese claimed over the lordship of "Culnam."

Answ. Perhaps, (commend not his modesty, but thank his guiltiness for his timorous assertion,) saith he: but how doth this appear, for he bringeth no proof? and if he affirmeth it on free cost, we can confute it as cheap by denying it.

Arg. 2. Secondly, saith he, "the king exempted "the abbot," *ab omni episcopali jure*; that is, "from "all right of the bishop, and not jurisdiction."

Answ. Sharp wit, to cut so small a mote in two parts for no purpose; seeing *jus* and *jurisdiction* are often known to import the same sense.

Arg. 3. Thirdly, he objecteth "the words no way "seem fitly to agree to be spoken of the bishop's

^r Catholic divine, alias Parsons, king's attorney, p. 95. sq. [ed. sons, in his answer to the 1606.]

A. D. 755. “ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which run thus: that the
 “abbot should be quiet from the bishop’s right, and
 “that the inhabitants from thenceforward should
 “not be oppressed by the yoke of the bishop’s
 “officers.”

Ans. Why? what incongruity, but that these words may be spoken, as they are, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction? Is the word *yoke* too coarse a phrase to be applied to the bishop’s spiritual power, as they sometimes did manage it? I appeal to those who felt it; for no yoke is heavy to him that puts it on, but to those who bear it. Mark by the way, the word he rendereth *officers*, is in the charter (not *officiarii*, lay-Latin, but) *officiales*, which is church-language, and the very dialect of the court Christian, and should be translated *officials*, to whom bishops committed their spiritual power. But Parsons knew well how to lay his thumb on what he would not have seen.

Arg. 4. Fourthly, “Howsoever it were, it is manifestly false,” saith he, “that this ecclesiastical jurisdiction of king Kenulphus was derived from his crown; it might be he had it from the pope, which is most likely.”

Ans. Which is most unlikely, for no clause in the charter relates to any delegate power; and yet such a passage might easily have been inserted, yea, could not justly have been omitted, if he had claimed his jurisdiction by deputation from the pope.

Arg. 5. Lastly, “(which,” he saith, “seemeth to convince the whole matter, and decide the very case,) one^s Rethurus, abbot of Abingdon, went af-

^s Harpsfield, Hist. Ang. p. 203. ex Mariano Scoto.

“terwards to Rome, to obtain confirmation of the A. D. 755.
 “privileges of his monastery from the see apo-
 “stolic.”

Answ. What of this? This post-fact of Rethurus argues no invalidity in Kenulphus his former grant, but rather shews the over officiousness of a pragmatistical abbot, who, to ingratiate himself with the pope, craved of him what he had before. Yea, such cunning compliance of the clergy with his holiness, by degrees fixed in him a supposed ecclesiastical power paramount, which really he never had, nor rightly ever ought to have.

See here the king's power in church matters in conferring ecclesiastical privileges; and this single thread we will twist with another instance so strong, that the Jesuit's art shall be unable to break it in sunder.

27. By the constitution of Augustine, first arch- A. D. 758.
 bishop of Canterbury, confirmed by the authority of Bodies first brought to be buried in churches.
 Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, it was decreed, that no corpse, either of prince or prelate, should be buried within the walls of a city, but only in the suburbs thereof; and that alone in the porch of the church, and not in the body. Now Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, having built Christ Church therein, was desirous to adorn it with the corpses of great persons therein afterwards to be interred. In pursuance of this his design, he durst not adventure on this innovation by his own power, nor did he make his applications to the pope of Rome, as most proper to repeal that act which the see apostolic had decreed, but only addresseth himself to Eadberht, king of Kent, and from him, *partim precario, partim etiam pretio*, “partly praying, partly paying for it,”

A. D. 758. saith my author^t, obtained his request. Behold here an ancient church canon recalled at the suit of an archbishop, by the authority of a king. This Cuthbert afterwards handseled Christ Church with his own corpse, whose predecessors were all buried in St. Augustine's, without the walls of Canterbury. Thus began corpses to be buried in the churches, which by degrees brought in much superstition, especially after degrees of inherent sanctity were erroneously fixed in the several parts thereof: the porch saying to the churchyard, the church to the porch, the chancel to the church, the east end to all, "Stand farther off, for I am holier than you." And, as if the steps to the high altar were the stairs to heaven, their souls were conceived in a nearer degree to happiness whose bodies were mounted there to be interred.

The occasion of monks their first drinking of wine in England.

28. About this time the bill of fare of monks was bettered generally in England, and more liberty indulged in their diet. It was first occasioned some twenty years since, when Ceolwulfus, formerly king of Northumberland, but then a monk in the convent of Lindisfarn, or Holy Island, gave leave to that convent to drink ale and wine, anciently confined by Aidan, their first founder, to milk and water^u. Let others dispute whether Ceolwulfus thus dispensed with them by his new abbatical, or old regal power; which he so resigned, that in some cases he might resume it, especially to be king in his own convent. And indeed the cold, raw, and bleak situation of

^t Tho. Sprot, in his Hist. of Canterbury. Also Archiv. Cantuariens. [both cited by Abp. Parker in his Antiq. Brit. p. 91. See also Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1773. ed. Twysden, and this History, p. 20. n.]

^u Roger. Hoved. f. 231.

that place, with many bitter blasts from the sea, and no shelter on the land, speaks itself to each inhabitant there, *Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities*^w. However, this local privilege, first justly indulged to the monks of Lindisfarn, was about this time extended to all the monasteries of England, whose primitive over-austerity in abstinence was turned now into a self-sufficiency that soon improved into plenty, that quickly depraved into riot, and that at last occasioned their ruin.

29. This year^x the English have cause to write with sable letters in their almanack on this sad occasion, that therein the Danes first invaded England with a considerable army^y. Several reasons are assigned for their coming hither, to revenge themselves for some pretended injuries; though the true reason was, because England was richer and roomier than their own country.

30. It is admirable to consider what shoals of people were formerly vented out of Cimbrica Chersonesus, take it in the largest extent for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who, by the terrible names of Goths, Ostro-Goths, Visi-Goths, Huns, Vandals, Danes, Normans, overran the fairest and fruitfulest parts of Christendom; whereas now, though for these last three hundred years, the Swedish wars in Germany excepted, that country hath sent forth no visible numbers of people, and yet is very thinly inha-

A. D. 758.

A. D. 787.
Danes their
first arrival
in England.

^w 1 Tim. v. 23.

^x [See the Saxon Chronicle in this year.]

^y [They landed in England with three ships. See Sax.

Chron. and Flor. Wig. a. 787.]

^z Otherwise strictly, it containeth only part of Denmark, continent to Germany.

A. D. 787. bited, so that one may travel some hundreds of miles therein through mere deserts, every man whom he meeteth having a Phoenix in his right hand. Yea, so few the natives, that some of their garrisons are manned with foreigners, and their kings fain to entertain mercenary Dutch and Scotch to manage their wars.

Two reasons there-
of.

31. Strange that this country, formerly all on the giving, should now be only on the taking hand. Some^a impute their modern comparative barrenness to their excessive drinking; a vice belike which lately hath infected that nation, drinking themselves past goats into stocks, out of wantonness into stupidity, which, by a contracted habit, debilitateth their former fruitfulness. Others^b more truly ascribe their former fruitfulness to their promiscuous copulations with women during their paganism, which are not so numerous since Christianity hath confined them to the marriage of one wife.

The reason
of reasons.

32. If I might speak according to my own profession of a divine, soaring over second causes in nature, I should ascribe their ancient populousness to Divine operation. As the widow her oil multiplied till her debts were satisfied, and that effected for which the miracle was intended, which done, the increase thereof instantly ceased: so these northern parts flowed with crowds of people, till their inundations had paid the scores of sinful Christians, and then, the birch growing no more, when the wanton children were sufficiently whipped, the procreative-ness of those nations presently stunted and abated.

^a J. Barklay in *Icon animorum*, [p. 176. ed. 1614.]

^b G. Tayl. in his *Chronicle of Normandy*. [?]]

33. The landing of these Danes in England was A.D. 787. ushered with many sad prognostics : stars were seen Bad pre- signs of the Danes' ap- proach. strangely falling from heaven, and sundry terrible flames appeared in the skies^c. From the firing of such extraordinary beacons, all concluded some new enemy was approaching the nation. Serpents were seen in Sussex, and blood reigned in some parts of the land. Lindesfarn or Holy Island was the first that felt the fury of these pagans : but soon after no place was safe and secure from their cruelty, whereof more hereafter.

34. At this time the archbishopric of Canterbury A.D. 790. was in part removed to Lichfield, five essential The archi- episcopal pall re- moved to Lichfield. things concurring to that great alteration.

i. The puissance and ambition of Offa, king of Mercia, commanding in chief over England^d. He would have the brightest mitre to attend the biggest crown.

ii. The complying nature of pope Adrian ; except any will call it his thankfulness to gratify king Offa, for the large gifts received from him.

iii. The easy and unactive disposition of Janbyrht, or Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury^e : unless any will term it his policy, that finding himself unable to resist, (a pope and a prince overmatch for a pre-

^c Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Eccl. ch. xx. Ranulphus Cestrensis, p. 251. ed. Gale. et alii.

^d [See Malmb. f. 15. b. He ruled over twenty-three shires. Vita Offæ, iidi, p. 30. (see below, p. 274.)]

^e [This reproach is certainly not just. Janbyrht was compelled to yield to the superior force of Offa, after having em-

ployed all lawful means of resistance. See Malmb. f. 15. b. The archbishop died in the year 790 ; his contest with Offa happened probably five years previously, in 785. since that is the period in which it is stated that he was deprived of part of his see. See the Saxon Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. in an. 785. Vit. Offæ, p. 21.]

A.D. 790. late,) he would not strive to keep what must be taken away from him.

iv. The commodious situation of Lichfield, almost in the navel of the land: and where should the highest candlestick stand (the metropolitan cathedral) but in the midst of the table? Whereas Kent itself was but a corner, whence it taketh its name; and Canterbury seated in the corner of that corner, a remote nook thereof.

v. The antiquity of Lichfield in Christianity, where the British church suffered a massacre from the pagans three hundred years before St. Augustine's coming to Canterbury^w; witness the name of the place, being another Helkath-hazzurim, or field of strong men, where so many worthies died for the testimony of the truth^x.

On these and other considerations Ealdulf was made the first (and last) archbishop of Lichfield, though others make Humbert and Higbert his successors in that dignity, and six suffragans, viz. Worcester, Hereford, Leicester, Sidnacester, Helmham, and Dunwich, subjected to his jurisdiction. Yet was not the archiepiscopal see removed, as some seem to conceive, but communicated to Lichfield; Canterbury still retaining its former dignity, and part of its province; the bishops of London, Rochester, Winchester, and Sherborne continuing still subject unto him.

A. D. 793.
St. Alban's
body en-
shrined.

35. King Offa having settled an archbishopric at Lichfield, his next design was to enshrine the corpse of St. Alban: five hundred and seven years had passed since his death and plain burial^y. For as

^w Vide supra, p. 54.

^x 2 Sam. ii. 16.

^y Vita Offæ secundi, p. 28,
annexed to the new edition of

John Baptist, the last martyr before Christ, and St. A.D. 793.
 Stephen, the first martyr after him, were fairly interred by their friends and followers, without any more ado, so the corpse of St. Alban were quietly committed to the earth, and there some centuries of years peaceably reposed. But now Offa, they say, was admonished in a vision to bestow more public sepulture upon him. A star, we know, directed to the place of Christ's birth, whereas a bright beam, say the monks, discovered the place of St. Alban's burial^s. A beam suspected by some shot by him who can turn himself into an angel of light, because gaining so much by their superstition. Then was Alban's body in pompous manner taken up, enshrined, and adored by the beholders. No wonder then if the Danes now invaded the dominions of the English, seeing the English invaded the prerogative of God, diverting the worship due to him alone to the rotten relics of dead men: and henceforth the old Romans' city of Verulam lost its name under the new Saxon town of St. Alban's.

36. King Offa went to Rome, and there confirmed A.D. 794.
 and enlarged to pope Adrian the gift of Peter-pence, ^{Peter-pence}
 what Ina, king of the West-Saxons, had formerly ^{re-confirm-}
 bestowed^a. For this favour the pope granted him, ^{ed to Rome.}
 that no Englishman for penance imposed should be banished out of his own country.

37. But bold beggars are the bane of the best ^{Gift no}
 bounty, when grown so impudent, that what at first ^{debt.}
 was given them for alms, in process of time they

M. Paris, [Lond. 1640. See called Peter-pence, because
 also Malmsh. f. 15, b.] paid on the day of St. Peter ad

^s Ibid. p. 26. Vincula. Vitæ Abb. S. Albani;

^a [It was from this time in Mat. Paris, App. p. 36.]

A. D. 794. challenge for rent. Some call this a tribute (badge of subjection) of England to the see of Rome; among whom is Polydore Virgil, once collector of those Peter-pence in England. But blame him not for magnifying his own office, who, had he owned this money (as indeed it was) given in frank almonage, had then appeared no better than a gentle beggar; whereas now he hopes to advance his employment to a nobler notion.

A. D. 795.
The royal
foundation
of St. Al-
ban's ab-
bey.

38. Offa having done all his work at Rome, namely, procured the canonization of St. Alban, the absolution of his own sins, and many murders, and visited and endowed the English college there, returned home, fell to found the monastery of St. Alban's, bestowing great lands and liberties upon it, as freeing it from the payment of Peter-pence, episcopal jurisdiction, and the like^a. This is alleged and urged by our regians, to prove the king's paramount power *in ecclesiasticis*; seeing none can give, save what they are formally or eminently possessed of. And whereas papists plead that Offa had fore-requested the granting of these privileges from the pope, no mention at all thereof appears in the charter^b of his foundation, here too large to insert, but that all was done by his own absolute authority. Next year Offa ended his life; buried at Bedford, on that token that the river Ouse swelling on a sudden swept his corpse clean away.

Canterbury
recovereth

39. Offa being dead^c, down fell the best pillar of

^a [See a similar privilege granted by Kenulphus to the monastery of Abingdon, mentioned in this History, p. 266.]

^b Amongst sir T. Cotton his manuscripts, and is exemplified in Weever's Fun. Mon. p.

99. [ed. 1631.]

^c [Offa died in 794, according to the Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.; in 796, according to Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis Regum. in an.]

Lichfield church, to support the archiepiscopality thereof. And now Canterbury had got Æthelheard a new archbishop, who had as much activity to spare as his predecessor Janbyrht is said by some to want. Wherefore he prevailed with Kenulph king of Mercia, and both of them with Leo the new pope, to restore back the archiepiscopal see to Canterbury; as in the next century was perfectly effected.

40. We will conclude this century with two eminent men (to leave at last a good relish in the memory of the reader) now flourishing therein. The one Alcuinus or Albinus: it being questionable whether he were more famous for venerable Bede, who was his master, or Charles the Great, who was his scholar; whilst it is out of doubt that he is most honoured for his own learning and religion. And because Englishmen may be presumed partial in the praise of an Englishman, hear what a character a learned foreigner gives of him: *Vir in divinis scriptis eruditissimus, et in sæcularium literarum peritia nulli suo tempore secundus; carmine excellens et prosa*^d. But he got himself the greatest credit by opposing the canons of the second Nicene council, wherein the superstitious adoration of images was enjoined^e. These canons, some seven years since, were sent by Charles the Great to king Offa, to be received of the English; who notwithstanding generally distasted and rejected them, the aforesaid Alcuinus writing a learned epistle against the same. He was fetched by Charles his scholar, calling him his delicious master; where he first founded the uni-

A. D. 796.
its former
dignity.

Learned
Alcuinus
confuteth
image-wor-
ship.

^d J. Trithemius de Script. Ecclesiasticis, [p. 250. ed. 1601.]

^e R. Hoveden. Annal. f. 234, b.

A. D. 800. versity of Paris, and died abbot of St. Martin's in Tours.

Ecgbryht
the first fixed
monarch
of England.

41. The other was Ecgbryht^f, who in this very year made himself sole monarch of England. True it is, in the Saxon heptarchy there was generally one who outpowered all the rest. But such monarchy was desultory and moveable, sometimes the West-Saxon, sometimes the Mercian, sometimes the Northumberland king ruled over the rest. But henceforward Ecgbryht fixed the supreme sovereignty in himself and his posterity: for though afterwards there continued some other petty kings, as Kenulph king of Mercia, &c., yet they shined but dimly, (as the moon when the sun is risen,) and in the next age were utterly extinguished. So that hereafter we shall double our files, and for the better regulating of time, next the column of the year of our Lord, add another of the reign of our English kings^g.

^f [King of the West-Saxons; it was not till the year 827 that he was master of the Cishumbrian provinces, in which year also he marched beyond the Humber with the purpose of making himself master of all England; but the North-

umbrians having met him with offers of subjection, he returned without further efforts. See the Saxon Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. an. 827.]

^g [In this edition the two series of dates are printed in the same column.]

THE NINTH CENTURY.

TO MR. WILLIAM, AND MR. ROBERT CHRISTMAS,
MERCHANTS OF LONDON^a.

You are both brethren by birth, and by your joint bounty on my endeavours. It is therefore pity to part you. May no other difference be in your hearts, than what heraldry allows in your arms, only to distinguish the age of the elder from the younger; that so the memory of your happy father may survive in you his hopeful children.



HEN Kenulph, king of Mercia, sent a letter to Leo the third, pope, by Æthel-
heard the archbishop, to this effect: That
whereas the metropolitan seat by au-
thority apostolic was primitively fixed at Canterbury,
where the blessed body of Augustine was buried;
and whereas lately king Offa, out of opposition to
archbishop Lambert, had removed the same seat to

A. D. 800.
1 Egberti.

The arch-
bishopric
restored to
Canterbury
at the in-
stance of
king Ke-
nulph.

^a [1. Arms. Gules, on a fess raguled, or, three martlets sable, a canton ermine.

2. The same with a crescent for difference: as the coat of a second son.

By the visitation of London made by sir Richard St. George, Clarencieux, king at arms, 1663, it appears that William was the eldest, and Robert the second

and youngest son of William Christmas of London, merchant, then living, by his wife Susan, daughter of Thomas Endlin of Long Ditton, co. Surrey. The said William was the second son of Robert Christmas, of a good family seated at Guilford in that county. B.]

A. D. 800. Lichfield, and procured from pope Adrian the same translation to be confirmed: Kenulph requested his holiness so far to concur with the general desire of the English nation, as to revoke the act of his predecessor, and restore the archbishopric to its proper place^a. And knowing that suits in the court of Rome speed no whit the less when accompanied with gifts, he sent his holiness one hundred and twenty mancuses^b for a present. The gift was kindly accepted, the archbishop courteously entertained, the request bountifully granted; and thus the archbishop's see, dislocated, or out of joint for a time, was by the hands of his holiness set right again.

A. D. 803. 2. Æthelheard returning home, called a synod at Cloves-ho in Kent, not far from Rochester, where by power from the pope he rivetted the archbishopric into the city of Canterbury, the synod denouncing heavy penalties to any that hereafter should endeavour to divide them: so that it is believed, that the archbishop's see may as easily be wholly dissolved, as hence removed. The subscriptions in this council were the most formal and solemn of any so ancient. The reader will not be offended with their hard names here following, seeing his eye may run them over in perusing them, though his tongue never touch them in pronouncing them^c.

^a Malmsb. de Gestis Reg. f. 16. [Æthelheard went to Rome in the year 799. See the Sax. Chron. and Florentius Wigornien. in ann. According to the same Chronicles, and Malmsbury (ibid.), Ecgbryht succeeded in the year 800; according to Sim. Dunelm. in 802. De Gestis Reg. in an.]

^b Mancusæ quasi manu cusæ, a coin about the valuation whereof is much variety. [See Twysden's Glossary, s. v., and Foxe's Martyrol. I. 483.]

^c The original is extant in the records of Canterbury, copied out by Spelman in his Concil. I. 325. [Wilkins, I. 167.]

<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>	<i>Abbots.</i>	<i>Presbyters.</i>	<i>Deacons.</i>	<i>A. D. 803.</i> <i>4 Egbert.</i>
Canterbury ..	{ Æthelheard arch.	{ Æthilheah Feologeld	{ Vulfheard Vuarnoth Beornmod Lulla Monn	Vulfred, arch.	
Lichfield	Aldulf	Hygeberht	{ Vuigferht Eadhers Cuthberht		
Leicester	Vuerenberht ..	{ Ealhmund, pr. Beonna, pr. Forthred, pr. Vuigmund, pr.	Eadberht	* * * *	
Sydnaecester ..	Eaduulf	{ Eadred, pr. Daeghelm, pr.	{ Plegberht Eadulf Hereberht	* * * *	
Worcester ..	Deneberht ..	{ Hygeberht Thineferth Pega Freothomund, pr.	Cenferth	* * * *	
Hereford	Vulfheard ..	Cuthraed	{ Srygol Dygoga Monn.	Heathobald	
Schireburn ..	Wigberht ..	{ Muda Eadberht Beorhthmund Cuthberht	{ * * * *	* * * *	
Winchester ..	Alhmund ..	{ Mark Cumba Lulla	{ Northeard Vngthe	* * * *	
Helmham ..	Ealheard	* * * *	{ Folcberht Frithobert Eadberht Wlflab	Hunfrid	
Dunwich	Tidfrith	{ Vulfheard Lulla	{ Ceolhelm Cynewulf Tydberth	Eadberht ^d	
London	Osmond	{ Heahstan Plegberht	{ Wigheard Tidhun Frithorad Æthelhelm	* * * *	
Rochester ..	Weormund ..	* * * *	{ Lullingo Tuda Beagnoth Heathoberht Wigheard	* * * *	
Selsey	Weohthun ..	Ceolmund	{ Dudda Eadberht Beorcol Heahfrid Cynebalde	* * * *	
Archbishop 1		Presbyters 39	} 82 in all.		
Bishops 12		Archdeacon 1			
Abbots 26		Deacons 3			

^d [After this name is a blank, priest.]
 and therefore it is not certain ^e Doubtful whether priests
 whether he were deacon or or deacons.

A. D. 803.
4 Egberti.

Some observables on the method and manner of their meeting.

3. Now to make a short but necessary digression: in this synod we may observe, that bishops appeared personally, and the rest of the clergy were represented, monks in their abbots, and the seculars in the priests and deacons of their diocese respectively. Such abbots as in this catalogue have the addition of *pr.* were also priests, and so present in a double capacity; though perchance they made only use of their abbotship. No deans appear here, as a dignity of far later institution. The bishops, in the order of their subscriptions, seem to observe seniority of their consecrations, and not dignity of their bishoprics; seeing London lags one of the last, to which our church-heralds did afterwards assign the highest place next the archbishops^f: only Lichfield may seem to have had the precedency, by the courtesy of the synod, that the lost dignity thereof might be buried in honour, being so lately the seat of an archbishop. Lastly, this was but a provincial council for Canterbury alone, York with his two suffragans, Lindisfarn and Hexham, not mentioned in the meeting. Thus, as the anatomy of a little child, representing all parts thereof, is accounted a greater rarity than the skeleton of a man of full stature, so I conceive it more acceptable to the studious in antiquity to behold the form of these synods, with the distinct members thereof, in the infancy of the Saxon church, than to see a complete council in after-ages, when grown to full perfection.

A. D. 816.
The acts of the council at Celichyth.

4. Pass we by some petty synods celebrated in the reign and country of king Kenulph of Mercia. Eminent was the council at Celichyth under Wulfred

^f Harpsfield, Hist. Ang. p. 743.

(who succeeded Æthelheard) archbishop of Canterbury. A. D. 816.
17 Egbert. Wherein, amongst other things slight or superstitious, was decreed,

i. That the catholic faith should be kept, and ancient canons observed.

ii. That new churches should be consecrated with holy water by their bishops, and the saint somewhere painted therein to whom the same is dedicated^s.

iii. That all in Christian charity mutually love one another.

iv. That abbots and abbesses be blameless persons, chosen by the bishop with the consent of the convent.

v. That no Scotchman baptize or administer the eucharist in England; it being uncertain whether or by whom they are ordained. (We may discover herein some remaining dregs of the long-lasting difference about the celebration of Easter, which made the suspicious English still to harbour a causeless prejudice against the Scotch priesthood.)

vi. That the judicial sentences of bishops in former synods remain ratified; as also all their acts solemnly signed with the cross.

vii. That no abbey-lands be leased out longer than *in dies, et spatium unius hominis*; (that is, as I take it, for the single life of one man;) except in some case of extremity, to help against famine, invasion of foes, or for obtaining of freedom.

viii. That things dedicated to God remain so for ever.

^s See Spelman's Concil. I. 328. [Wilkins, I. 169. The passage referred to runs thus in the original: "Præcipimus uni-
" cuique episcopo, ut habeat
" depictum in pariete oratorii,
" aut in tabula, vel etiam in al-
" taribus, quibus sanctis sint
" utraque dedicata."]

A. D. 816.
17 Egberti.

ix. That the acts of all synods be fairly written out, with the date thereof, and name of the archbishop president, and bishops present thereat.

x. That bishops at their death give the full tithe of their goods to the poor, and set free every Englishman which in their lifetime was a slave unto them.

xi. That bishops invade not the diocese, priests the parish, neither the office of another, save only when desired to baptize or visit the sick. The refusers whereof in any place are to be suspended their ministry till reconciled to the bishop.

xii. That they pour not water upon the heads of infants, but immerge them in the font, in imitation of Christ, who, say they, was thrice so washed in Jordan.

But where is this in scripture? The manifestation indeed of the Trinity plainly appears in the text; Father in the voice, Son personally present, Holy Spirit in the dove^h; but as for thrice washing him, *altum silentium*. However, see how our modern sectaries meet popery in shunning it, requiring the person to be plunged; though critics have cleared it, that baptize doth import as well dipping as drenching in water.

Ecgbryht
proclaimed
monarch of
England.

5. And now we take our farewell of king Kenulph, who, for all his great bustling in church matters for the first twenty years in this century, was (as *genus subalternum* amongst the logicians) a king over his subjects, yet but a subject to king Ecgbryht, who now at Winchester was solemnly crowned monarch of the southern and greater moiety of this island, enjoining all the people therein to term it Engeland, since England, that so the petty names of seven

^h Matt. iii. 16. 17.

former distinct kingdoms might be honourably buried in that general appellation¹.

A. D. 826.
21 Egberti.

6. Some will wonder, seeing this nation was compounded of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, why it should not rather be denominated of the first, as in number greatest, and highest in reputation. Such consider not that a grand continent in Germany was already named Saxony; and it was not handsome for this land to wear a name at second-hand belonging to another. Besides, England is a name of credit, importing in Dutch the same with the land of angels^k. And now the name stamped with the king's command soon became current, and extinguished all the rest. For Kent, Essex, Sussex, Northumberland, though remaining in common discourse, shrunk from former kingdoms into modern counties: Westsex, Mercia, and East-Angles were in effect finally forgotten. It will not be amiss to wish that seeing so great a tract of ground meets in one name, the people thereof may agree in Christian unity and affections.

Seven kingdoms swallowed up in Engeland.

7. King Ecgbryht was now in the exaltation of his greatness. But never will human happiness hold out full measure to man's desire. Freed from homebred hostility, he was ready to repose himself in the bed of ease and honour; when the Danes not only jogged his elbows, but pinched his sides, to the dis-

Danes disturb king Ecgbryht.

¹ [Mercia was not subject to Ecgbryht, king of the West-Saxons, till some years after. Kenulph died in 819, and after various engagements between Ecgbryht, and the various kings of Mercia who succeeded Kenulph, that kingdom fell into the hands of Ecgbryht in the

year 827, and Ecgbryht became master of all the Cishumbrane provinces. See the Saxon Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. in an. 819 and 827. Malm. f. 17, 19.]

^k Verstegan of decayed intelligence, [p. 148.]

A. D. 833. 14 Egberti. turbance of his future quiet. They beat the English in a naval fight at Carmouth in Dorsetshire, which proved fatal to our nation¹. For an island is never an island indeed, until mastered at sea, cut off from commerce with the continent. Henceforward these pagans settled themselves in some part of the land, though claiming it by no other title than their own pride and covetousness, and keeping it in no other tenure than that of violence and cruelty.

A. D. 836. 1 Ethelwol-
shi.
Ethelwol-
shus his
universal
grant of
ithes to
be church.
8. Æthelwolphus his son succeeded king Ecgbryht in the throne: a prince not less commended for his valour than devotion, and generally fortunate in his undertakings, though much molested all his lifetime by the Danes. But nothing makes him so remarkable to posterity, as the granting of this charter, or rather the solemn passing of this act ensuing^m.

“*Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, et direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon et vastantium crudelissimas deprædationes hostium, barbararum, paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, cernimus tempora incumbere periculosa:*

“*Quamobrem ego Ethelwolphus rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio episcoporum ac principum meorum, consilium salubre atque uniforme remedium affirmavi, ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi*

¹ [The first descent was at Sheppey in the year 832. See the Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. an. 832. Malmsh. De gestis, f. 20.]
^m Ex Ingulph. Hist. Croyland. [p. 17.] et Malmsh. de Gest. Reg. [f. 22.]

“ minimum sit, tamen partem decimam in libertatem ^{A. D. 836.}
 “ perpetuam perdonari dijudicavi, ut sit tuta ac ^{1 Ethelwol-}
 “ munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, necnon ^{phi.}
 “ regalibus tributis majoribus et minoribus, sive
 “ taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witereden: sitque
 “ libera omnium rerum pro remissione animarum
 “ nostrarum ad serviendum Deo soli sine expeditione,
 “ et pontis instructione, et arcis munitione, ut eo di-
 “ ligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione
 “ fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliqua parte
 “ levigamus.

“ Placuit etiam episcopis Alhstano Schireburnen-
 “ sisⁿ ecclesiæ, et Swithuno Wintoniensis ecclesiæ,
 “ cum suis Abbatibus, et servis Dei, consilium inire,
 “ ut omnes fratres, et sorores nostræ, ad unamquam-
 “ que ecclesiam omni hebdomada die Mercurii, hoc
 “ est, Weddensday, cantent quinquaginta Psalmos,
 “ et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro
 “ rege Ethelwlfho, et aliam pro ducibus ejus huic
 “ dono consentientibus, pro mercede et refrigerio
 “ delictorum suorum: et pro rege vivente dicant:
 “ *Oremus. Deus qui justificas*; pro ducibus etiam
 “ viventibus, *Prætede Domine*; postquam autem
 “ defuncti fuerint, pro rege defuncto singulariter, et
 “ pro principibus defunctis communiter. Et hoc sit
 “ tam firmiter constitutum omnibus Christianitatis
 “ diebus, sicut libertas illa constituta est, quamdiu
 “ fides crescit in gente Anglorum.

“ Scripta est autem hæc donationis cartula anno
 “ dominicæ incarnationis 856 indictione quarta, die
 “ quinto nonas Novembris, in civitatæ Wentana, in

ⁿ [It was by the activity and talents of this bishop that ^{cessfully to oppose the Danes.}
 Malsm. f. 20.]
 Æthelwolf was enabled suc-

A. D. 836. "ecclesia sancti Petri ante altare capitale; et hoc
 1 Ethelwol- "fecerunt pro honore sancti Michaelis archangeli et
 phi. "sanctæ Mariæ reginæ, gloriosæ Dei genitricis:
 "simulque et beati Petri apostolorum principis, nec
 "non et sanctissimi patris nostri Gregorii papæ, atque
 "omnium sanctorum. Et tunc pro ampliori firmi-
 "tate rex Ethelwlfus posuit cartulam super altare
 "S. Petri, et episcopi pro fide Dei acceperunt, et
 "postea per omnes ecclesias transmiserunt in suis
 "parochiis, secundum quod prædictum est^o."

A. D. 855. This Æthelwulfus was designed by his father to be bishop of Winchester, bred in a monastery, after taken out, and absolved of his vows by the pope: and having had church-education in his youth, retained to his old age the indelible character of his affections thereunto. In expression whereof, in a solemn council kept at Winchester, he subjected the whole kingdom of England to the payment of tithes, as by the foregoing instrument doth appear. He was the first born monarch of England. Indeed, before his time there were monarchs of the Saxon heptarchy; but not successive and fixed in a family, but fluctuating from one kingdom to another. Ecgbryht, father to this Æthelwulf, was the first that

^o [See Wilkins' Conc. I. 184, for other copies of this celebrated instrument; they vary from each other in a few verbal expressions. The date of it is certainly 855, which coincides with the third indiction. The only writer of credit who varies from this date is Malmsbury, who places it in the year 844, and the fourth indiction. But the fourth indiction does not fall upon the year 844, nor

any thing near it. The date 844 is therefore a clerical error for 856, (for 841, which is the only year it could possibly be, is entirely out of the question,) and I have altered it accordingly.

This grant of a tithe of the land for the church must be separated from a grant of a tithe of land to the poor by the same king. Of which see Malmsb. f. 22.]

achieved this monarchy, and left it to this his son, not *monarcha factus*, but *natus*, and so in unquestionable power to make the foresaid act obligatory over all the land.

9. Indeed, before his time many acts for tithes are produced, which when pressed will prove of no great validity. Such are the imperial edicts in civil law, never possessed of full power in England; as also the canons of some councils and popes, never admitted into plenary obedience by consent of prince and people. Add to these, first, such laws as were made by king Ina and Offa, monarchs indeed of England in their turns, as I may say, but not deriving the same to the issue of their bodies: so that their acts as personal may by some froward spirits be cavilled at, as determining with their own lives. Join to these (if producible) any provincial constitutions of an English archbishop (perchance Egbertus of York): those might obey them, who would obey, being otherwise not subject to any civil penalty. But now this act of Æthelwolphus appears entire in all the proportions of a law, made in his great council, equivalent to after-parliaments, not only *cum consilio episcoporum*, with the advice of his bishops, which easily may be presumed willingly to concur in such a matter of church-advancement, but also *principum meorum*, of my princes, saith he, the consent of inferior persons not being required in that age.

10. However, nothing can be so strong but it may meet with cavils, though not to destroy, to disturb the validity thereof, as this act hath; and we will severally examine the defects charged upon it.

Obj. 1. Some object that Æthelwolphus was but

A. D. 855.
20 Æthel-
wolph.

Former
acts for
tithes in-
firm.

Objections
against this
act an-
swered.

A.D. 855.
20 Ethel-
wolph.

king of the West-Saxons, as appears by his style, *rex occidentalium Saxonum*, and not universal monarch of England, whose act only is obligatory to his own subjects. Let those of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Wilts, and Berks pay tithes by virtue of this command; other parts of the land are freed from the same, because *nihil dat quod non habet*, none can derive that to others which they enjoy not themselves; being king but of a part, he could not lay this law upon all the land^p.

Ans. He is termed eminently, not exclusively, king of the West-Saxons: being fondest of that title, as his father's first inheritance, before he acquired the monarchy of the whole land. There were indeed at this time two other royalets, as only kings by his leave, viz. Burhred king of Mercia, and Edmond king of East-Angles, who, as it plainly appears by Ingulphus, were present at his council, and consented to the acts thereof^q.

Obj. 2. The consideration was superstitious, to say so many masses for the souls of this king and his captains when deceased.

Ans. A double consideration is mentioned in this grant. The first, general; so pious in itself, no exception can be taken thereat, viz. to divert the imminent judgments of God from the land, hourly fearing the invasion of fierce foreign pagans: so the

^p [This is a needless question. Ecgbriht, the father of Æthelwulf, was monarch of all England: *tota Britannia potitus*: (Malms. f. 20.) This power at his death devolved to Æthelwulf; he contented himself with the kingdom of the

West-Saxons, delegating the rest of his authority to his son Æthelstan. Saxon Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. an. 856. Malmsb. f. 20. See particularly Flor. Wigorn. in an. 855.]

^q Exemplified in sir Henry Spelman's Concil. I. 348.

better to secure the nine parts thereof to himself and his subjects, by setting apart, resigning, and surrendering a tenth to God, the supreme landlord of all, in such as attended his daily service. The second consideration is more restrictive and particular, and resents indeed of the ignorance of that age; but yet is proportionable to the best devotion those days produced: and easily may an accidental abuse be purged by the pious use intended and designed generally to God's glory.

Obj. 3. The king only granted tithes of his own crown-land, *non in dominio, sed in dominico suo*, "not in all his dominions, but only in his demesnes."

Ans. There needed no such solemn consent of the council of the land for the passing away of his private bounty. And that the grant extended to the kingdom in general, appears by other authors on the same. *Adelulfus decimo nono anno regni sui, qui totam terram suam ad opus ecclesiarum decimarit propter amorem Dei, &c.*^r More plainly another author: *In eodem anno decimarit Athulf rex de omni possessione sua in partem Domini, et in universo regimine sui principatus sic constituit*^s.

11. Here we insist not on the many arguments out of Old and New Testament to prove tithes to be *jure divino*; which in due time may be produced, when all tempests of tumultuous spirits are allayed, and when (what the town-clerk of Ephesus promised to the citizens thereof) the question may be determined, ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ^t, in a lawful and ordinary assembly, without fear of force, and suspicion of

^r Hen. Huntind. Hist. f. 200.

^s [Ethelwerdi Chronicon f. 478, b.]

^t Acts xix. 39.

A. D. 855.
20 Ethel-
wolph.

violence. For two strings to a bow do not amiss, being no hinderance to the archer for the better hitting of the mark, who may wind up one, and use that for the present which he sees most for his own convenience. Meantime most true it is, that men are not so conscientious to obey the laws of God, as fearful to resist the edicts of men: and therefore, though far be it from the clergy to quit their title to tithes by divine right, they conceive it the surest way sometimes to make use of human injunctions, as having the most potent influence on men's affections, especially in this age, when the love of many, both to God and goodness, beginneth to wax cold.

A pleasant
passage.

12. A reverend doctor in Cambridge^v, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, was troubled at his small living at Hogginton with a peremptory anabaptist, who plainly told him, "It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can shew me a place of scripture whereby they are due unto you." The doctor returned; "Why should it not go as much against my conscience, that you should enjoy your nine parts, for which you can shew no place of scripture?" To whom the other rejoined; "But I have for my land deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased, and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land." "The same is my title," saith the doctor, "tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land time out of mind." Thus he drove that nail, not which was of the strongest metal or sharpest point, but which would go best for the present. It was *argumentum ad hominem*, fittest for the person he

^v [Fuller doubtless alludes to his uncle, Dr. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury.]

was to meddle with ; who afterwards peaceably payed his tithes unto him. Had the doctor engaged in scripture-argument, though never so pregnant and pertinent, it had been endless to dispute with him, who made clamour the end of his dispute, whose obstinacy and ignorance made him incapable of solid reason ; and therefore the worse the argument, the better for his apprehension.

13. Most solid and ingenious was the answer of a most eminent sergeant at law of this age, to the impertinent clamours of such against the payment of tithes, because, as they say, due only by human right. " My cloak is my cloak by the law of man : but he " is a thief by the law of God that taketh it away " from me."

14. True it is that this law did not presently find an universal obedience in all the land. And the wonder is not great, if at the first making thereof it met with many recusants ; since, corroborated by eight hundred years' prescription, and many confirmations, it finds obstacles and oppositions at this day : for in succeeding ages several kings confirmed the same, though papal exemptions of several orders, and *modus decimandi* according to custom, have almost since tithed the tithes in some places.

15. King Æthelwolphus the next year took his (call it progress or) pilgrimage to Rome, where the report of his piety prevented his arrival, and provided both welcome and wonder for his entertainment. Here he confirmed unto the pope his predecessors' grant of Peter-pence, and, as a surplusage, bestowed upon him the yearly revenue of three hundred marks, thus to be expended^w:

^w Malmesbury, [f. 20, b. 22.]

A.D. 856.
21 Ethel-
wolph.

i. To maintain candles for St. Peter, one hundred marks.

ii. To maintain candles for St. Paul, one hundred marks.

iii. For a free largess to the pope, one hundred marks.

How this
sum was
divided, and
collected
out of se-
veral dio-
ceses.

16. If any be curious to know how these three hundred marks were in after-ages divided and collected, let them peruse the following account: if the particulars be truly cast up, and (attested to me out of sir T. Cotton's library^x, and, as they say, out of the Vatican itself) be authentical.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Canterbury.....	8	8	0	Winchester.....	17	6	8
London	16	10	0	Covent. and Lich-			
Rochester	5	12	0	field.	41	5	0
Norwich	21	10	0	Exeter	9	5	0
Salisbury	17	0	0	Worcester	10	5	0
Ely.....	5	0	0	Hereford	6	0	0
Lincoln	42	0	0	Bath and Wells...12	5	0	
Chichester	8	0	0	York	11	10	0

These sums were demanded by pope Gregory the

^x [Perhaps Julius, B. iii. f. 49. In a MS. in Queen's college library, Oxford, which belonged to sir Robert Cotton, and retains his autograph, the sums are stated thus :

" De Cantuarien: dioc... vii ^{ll} . xviii ^s .	" De Londonen: xviii ^l . x ^s .
" De Roffens: v. xii.	" De Norwicen: xxi. x.
" De Elien: v. —	" De Lincoln: x[1]ii. —
" De Cicestren: viii. —	" De Wynton: xvi. vi. viii.
" De Exonien: ix. v.	" De Wygornien: .. xi. v.
" De Hereforden: vi. —	" De Bathon: xii. v.
" De Sarisbur: xvii. —	" De Coventren: x. v.
" De Eboracen: xi. —	

" Dat: apud veterem urbem x kaln Maii pont : nri anno secundo.
" Summa total: clxxxix^{li} xvi^s viii^d." See also another copy in Foxe's Martyrol. I. 483. In the succeeding passage Fuller has made a mistake in the name of the pope. It was evidently Gregory XI., not Gregory XIII.

The reader will find the bull printed entire in Somers' Tracts, I. 21. (ed. 1809.)

Thirteenth in the 46th of Edward the Third, on that A. D. 856.
 token, that their payment was much opposed by Æthel-
 John of Gaunt. I dare not discede from my copy a wolph.
 tittle, coming, as they say, from the register at
 Rome: nor will I demand a reason why Durham
 and Carlisle⁷ are here omitted, much less examine
 the equity of their proportions, as applied to their
 respective dioceses; but implicitly believe all done
 very justly. The reason why the Welsh bishoprics
 were exempted is, because at the grant hereof by
 king Æthelwulf, Wales was not then under his
 dominion. This three hundred marks was but a
 distinct payment by itself, and not the whole body of
 Peter-pence, (amounting to a greater sum,) whereof,
 God willing, hereafter.

17. After the death of king Æthelwolphus, and A. D. 866.
 his two sons Æthelbald and Æthelbert succeeding Æthelred.
 him, this land was in a sad condition, though nothing The Saxons
 so bad as under the reign of Æthelred his third son wilfully ac-
 and successor: for then indeed most miserable was cessary to
 the state of the English, harassed by the Danes, who, their own
 like the running gout, shifted from joint to joint, ruin by the
 from place to place; often repelled from the several Danes.
 shires, never expelled out of England. The Saxon
 folly hurt them more than the Danish fury; refusing
 effectually to unite to make a joint resistance against
 a general enemy. For some sixty years since, the
 West-Saxons had subdued the other six kings of
 this nation; yet so that they still continued kings,
 but homagers to the West-Saxon monarchy. The
 shortening of their sceptres stuck in their stomachs,
 especially of the Mercian and Northumbrian kings,

⁷ [Carlisle was not erected into a see till the reign of
 Henry I.]

A. D. 866. the most puissant of all the rest. Whereupon, be-
¹ Æthelred. holding Æthelred, the West-Saxon king, the staff
 and stay of the whole nation, embroiled with the
 invasion of the Danes, they not only lazily looked
 on, but secretly smiled at this sight, as the only way
 to conquer the conqueror². Yea, such their envy,
 that rather than one (once their equal) should be
 above them in felicity, they all would be equal with
 him in misery. They would more contentedly be slaves
 to a foreign foe, to whom they all stood unrelated,
 than homagers to him, who had, as they thought,
 usurped dominion over them. Never considering
 that the Danes were pagans; (self-interest is deaf to
 the checks of conscience;) and revenge, which is wild
 at the best, was so mad in them, that they would
 procure it with the hazard, if not loss, of their God,
 his church, and true religion. Thus the height of
 the Saxon pride and envy caused the breadth of the
 Danish power and cruelty. Indeed, the foresaid
 Saxon kings, perceiving their error, endeavoured at
 last to help the West-Saxons (or rather to help
 themselves in him) against the Danes. But alas! it
 was too late. For the Danish garrisons lay so in-
 dented in the heart of the land, that the Saxon
 troops were blasted before they could grow into re-
 giments, and their strength, dispersed in the gather-
 ing, was routed before regulated into an army.

A. D. 870. 18. This year the Danes made an invasion into
^{Fight be-} Lincolnshire, where they met with stout resistance:
^{twixt Chris-} and let us take a list of the chief officers on both
^{tians and} sides.
^{Danes.}

Christian Saxons: — ^a Count Algar, general,
 with the youth of Hoyland: Harding de Rehale,

² [See Malsb. f. 23.] ^a Ingulphi Hist. [f. 492=p. 20.]

with Stanford men, all very young and valiant: ^{A. D. 870.} Tolius a monk, with a band of two hundred Crow-^{5 Æthelred.} landers^b: Morcardus lord of Brunne, with those of his numerous family: Osgot 'sheriff' of Lincolnshire, with five hundred under him: Wibert, living at Wiberton, nigh Boston in Hoyland: Leofric, living at Leverton, anciently Lefrinkton, places named from their owners.

Danish pagans:—King Gordroum: King Baseg: King Osketil: King Halfden: King Hamond: Count Frena: Count Unguar: Count Ubba: Count Sidrok the elder: Count Sidrok the younger.

The Christians had the better the first day, wherein the Danes lost three of their kings, buried in a place thence called Trekingham: so had they the second, till at night, breaking their ranks to pursue the Danes in their dissembled flight, they were utterly overthrown.

19. Theodore abbot of Crowland, hearing of the Danes' approach, shipped away most of his monks, ^{Crowland monks massacred.} with the choicest relics and treasures of his convent, and cast his most precious vessels into a well in the cloister. The rest remaining were at their morning prayers, when the Danes entering, slew Theodore the abbot on the high altar; Asker the prior in the vestiary; Lethwyne the sub-prior in the refectory; Pauline in the choir; Herbert in the choir; Wlric the torchbearer in the same place; Grimketul and

^b [These Crowlanders were persons who had taken refuge in the monastery of Croyland; their general Tollius was a soldier who had assumed the monastic habit. "Miles ante suam conversionem per totam
" Merciam in bellicis artibus
" nominatissimus, sed tunc a-
" more cælestis patriæ, relicto
" sæculo, spirituali militiæ
" apud Croylandiam manci-
" patus." Ingulph. ib.]
" Vice dominus.

A. D. 870. Agamund, each of them an hundred years old, in the
 5 Æthelred. cloisters.

These, saith my author^d, were first *examinati*, tortured to betray their treasure, and then *exanimati*, put to death for their refusal. The same writer seems to wonder, that being killed in one place, their bodies were afterwards found in another. Surely the corpse removed not themselves, but no doubt the Danes dragged them from place to place when dead. There was one child-monk therein, but ten years old, Turgar by name, of most lovely looks and person. Count Sidrok the younger, pitying his tender years, (all devils are not cruel alike,) cast a Danish coat^e upon him, and so saved him, who only survived to make the sad relation of the massacre.

Peterborough monks killed. Monastery burned.

20. Hence the Danes marched to Medeshamsted, since called Peterborough, where finding the abbey gates locked against them, they resolved to force their entrance; in effecting whereof, Tulba, brother to count Hulba, was dangerously wounded, almost to death, with a stone cast at him. Hulba enraged hereat, like another Doeg, killed abbot Hedda, and all the monks, being fourscore and four, with his own hand. Count Sidrok gave an item to young monk Turgar, who hitherto attended him, in no wise to meet count Hulba, for fear that his Danish livery should not be found of proof against his fury. Then was the abbey set on fire, which burned fifteen days together, wherein an excellent library was consumed. Having pillaged the abbey, and broke open the tombs and coffins of many saints there interred, these pagans marched forwards into Cambridgeshire, and

^d Ingulphus, [f. 493 = p. 22.]

^e In Latin collobium.

passing the river Nene^f, two of their waggons fell into the water, wherein the cattle which drew them were drowned, much of their rich plunder lost, and more impaired. A. D. 870.
5 Æthelred.

21. Some days after, the monks of Medeshamsted were buried altogether in a great grave, and their abbot in the midst of them, a cross being erected over the same, where one may have four yards square of martyrs' dust, which no place else in England doth afford. Godric, successor to Theodore, abbot of Crowland, used annually to repair hither, and to say masses two days together for the souls of such as were entombed. One would think that by popish principles these were rather to be prayed to than prayed for; many maintaining that martyrs go the nearest way to heaven, *sine ambage purgatorii*: so that surely Godric did it not to better their condition, but to express his own affection, out of the redundancy of his devotion, which others will call the superfluity of his superstition. A heap of
martyrs.

22. The Danes spared no age, sex, condition of people; such was the cruelty of this pagan impartial sword. With a violent inundation they brake into the kingdom of the East-Angles; wasted Cambridge and the country thereabouts; burnt (the then city of) Thetford; forced Edmond, king of that country^g, into his castle of Framlingham; who perceiving himself unable to resist their power, came forth, and at the village of Hoxne in Suffolk tendered his person unto them, hoping thereby to save the effusion of his subjects' bloods. Where, after many in- The cruel
martyrdom
of king
Edmond.

^f [Or Nen, in Northamptonshire. They were marching towards Huntingdon. See Ingulph, p. 23.]

^g [Ingulph, f. 494=p. 24. Malms. De Gest. f. 49, b. Joh. Brompton, Chron. p. 805.]

A. D. 870. dignities offered unto him, they bound him to a
5 Æthelred. tree; and because he would not renounce his Christianity, shot him with arrow after arrow, their cruelty taking deliberation, that he might the better digest one pain before another succeeded, so distinctly to protract his torture, (though confusion be better than method in matters of cruelty,) till not mercy, but want of a mark made them desist; according to the poets expression^h,

Jam loca vulneribus desunt, nec dum furiosis
 Tela, sed hyberna grandine plura volant.

Room wants for wounds, but arrows do not fail
 From foes, which thicker fly than winter hail.

After-ages, desiring to make amends to his memory, so over-acted their part in shrining, sainting, and adoring his relics at Bury St. Edmonds, that, if those in heaven be sensible of the transactions on earth, this good king's body did not feel more pain from the fury of the pagan Danes, than his soul is filled with holy indignation at the superstition of the Christian Saxons.

King
 Æthelbert
 his prayer-
 victory.

23. However, the West-Saxon king Æthelbert behaved himself bravely, fighting, with various success, nine battles against the Danesⁱ: though ninety-nine had not been sufficient against so numerous an enemy. But we leave these things to the historians of the state to relate. We read of an heap of stones, made between Jacob and Laban, with a mutual contract, that neither should pass the same for harm^k. Thus would I have ecclesiastical and civil historians indent about the bounds and limits of their subjects, that

^h Camden's *Britann.* in the description of Suffolk, p. 340. gum, f. 22, b. [Nine battles in one year. *Malmsb. ibid.*]

ⁱ *Malmsbury De Gestis Re-*

^k *Gen. xxxi. 52.*

neither injuriously encroach on the right of the other. A. D. 870.
5 Æthelred.
And, if I chance to make an excursion into the matters of the commonwealth, it is not out of curiosity or busybodiness to be meddling in other men's lines, but only in an amicable way, to give a kind visit, and to clear the mutual dependence of the church on the commonwealth. Yet let me say, that this war against the Danes was of church-concernment; for it was as much *pro aris as pro focis*, as much for religion as civil interest. But one war must not be forgotten¹. Importunate messengers brought the tidings that the English were dangerously engaged with the Danes at *Æsces-dune*, (haply *Essenden* now, in *Surrey*^m.) and likely to be worsted. King *Ethelbert* was at his devotions, which he would not omit nor abbreviate for all their clamour. No suit would he hear on earth till first he had finished his requests to heaven. Then, having performed the part of pious *Moses* in the mountⁿ, he began to act valiant *Joshua* in the valley. The Danes are vanquished, leaving posterity to learn that time spent in prayer is laid out to the best advantage.

24. But alas! this Danish invasion was a mortal A. D. 871.
King
Æthelbert
heart-
broken
with grief.
wound, *dedecus Saxonica fortitudinis*; the cure whereof was rather to be desired than hoped for. Ease for the present was all art could perform. King *Æthelbert* saw that of these pagans the more he slew the more they grew, which went to his valiant

¹ [Asser, *De Gestis Ælfredi*, and the *Saxon Chron.* in the year 871. *Malmsb. f. 23.*]

^m [Aston, near Wallingford in Berkshire. Some however think that Ashendon in Buckinghamshire was the scene of

this battle. Upon a careful examination of the authorities quoted above, there seems to be little doubt of this battle having been fought in Berkshire.]

ⁿ Exodus xvii. 11.

A. D. 871. heart. Grief is an heavy burden, and generally the
 6 Æthelred. strongest shoulders are able to bear the least proportion thereof. The good king therefore withered away in the flower of his age, willingly preferred to encounter rather death than the Danes; for he knew how to make a joyful end with the one, but endless was his contest with the other: according to the observation of the English historian, that the Saxon kings in this age, *magis optarent honestum exitum, quam acerbum imperium*°.

A. D. 871. 25. In this sad condition God sent England a deli-
 King Al- verer, namely, king Alfred, or Alured, born in Eng-
 fred's exem- land, bred in Rome, where, by a prolepsis, he was
 plary cha- anointed king by pope Leo, though then but a private
 racter. prince, and his three elder brothers alive, *in auspici-
 um futuri regni*, in hope that hereafter he should come to the crown. Nor did this unction make Alfred antedate his kingdom, who quietly waited till his foresaid brothers successively reigned, and died before him, and then took his turn in the kingdom of the West-Saxons. The worst was, his condition was like a bridegroom, who, though lawfully wedded, yet might not bed his bride, till first he had conquered his rival; and must redeem England before he could reign over it. The Danes had London, many of the inland, mo of the maritime towns; and Alfred only three effectual shires, Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts: yet by God's blessing on his valour he got to be monarch of all England. Yea, consider him as a king in his court, as a general in his camp, as a Christian in his closet, as a patron in the church, as a founder in his college, as a father

° Malmesburiensis ut prius. Malsbury, f. 23, b., and In-
 p [Hampshire, according to gulph. p. 26.]

in his family; his actions will every way appear no less excellent in themselves, than exemplary to others. A. D. 878.
8 Alfredi.

26. His most daring design was, when lying hid about Athelney in Somersetshire, and disguised under the habit of a fiddler, being an excellent musician, he adventured into the Danish camp⁹. Had not his spirit been undaunted, the sight of his armed foes had been enough to have put his instrument out of tune. Here going unsuspected through their army, he discovered their condition, and some of their intentions. Some would say that the Danes deserved to be beaten indeed if they would communicate their counsels to a fiddler. But let such know, Alfred made this general discovery of them, that they were remiss in their discipline, lay idle and careless: and security disarms the best-appointed army. Themistocles said of himself, "that he could not fiddle, but he knew how to make a little city great." But our Alfred could fiddle, and make a little city great too; yea, enlarge a petty and contracted kingdom into a vast and absolute monarchy.

27. But, as the poets feign of Anteus, the son of the earth, who fighting with Hercules, and often worsted by him, recovered his strength again every time he touched the earth, revived with an addition of new spirits: so the Danes, which may seem the sons of Neptune, though often beaten by the English in land battles, no sooner recovered their ships at sea, but presently recruiting themselves, they returned from Denmark more numerous and formidable than before. But at last (to follow the poetical

Alfred as a
fiddler dis-
covereth the
Danish de-
signs.

The Danish
ships left
water-
bound.

⁹ [Malmsb. f. 23, b.]

A. D. 878. fancy) as Hercules, to prevent Antæus his father re-
8 Alfred. viving, hoisted him aloft, and held him strangled in his arms till he was stark dead and utterly expired; so, to secure the Danes from returning to the sea, who out of the Thames had with their fleet sailed up the river Lea, betwixt Hertfordshire and Essex, Alfred with pioneers divided the grand stream of Lea into several rivulets; so that their ships lay water-bound, leaving their mariners to shift for themselves over land, most of which fell into the hands of their English enemies: so that this proved a mortal defeat to the Danish insolence^r.

The general 28. Alfred having thus reduced England to some
ignorance tolerable terms of quiet, made most of the Danes
in England. his subjects by conquest, and the rest his friends by composition, encountered a fiercer foe, namely, ignorance and barbarism, which had generally invaded the whole nation. Insomuch that he writeth, that south of Thames he found not any that could read English. Indeed in these days all men turned students; but what did they study? only to live secretly and safely from the fury of the Danes. And now, that the next age might be wiser than this, Alfred intended the founding of an university at Oxford.

Ancient 29. Indeed, there were anciently standing on the
schools at banks of Isis, which in due time commenceth
Crekelade

^r [I can find no authority for this statement. According to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 896 the Danes ascended the river Lea, twenty miles above London, and there erected a fort. To prevent their excursions, and obstruct the passage of their ships, Alfred built a fort on each side of the

river. The Danes finding themselves thus hemmed in, fled over land to Quatbridge on the Severn, leaving their ships a prey to the enemy; these the Londoners took possession of and broke up such as they found impossible to remove.]

Thamisis, two towns, one Crekelade or Greeklade, in Wiltshire ; the other Lechlade or Latinlade, in Gloucestershire. In the former of these many years since (things time out of mind must not be condemned as time out of truth) the Greek tongue, as in the latter the Latin tongue, are said to be publicly professed by philosophers^a. But where was Hebrewlade, the Hebrew tongue being more necessary than both the former for the understanding of the Old Testament? Alas! in this age it was banished, not only out of England, but out of Christendom. As in the ordinary method of nature, the more aged usually die first; so no wonder if Hebrew, generally presumed the oldest language in the world, expired first in this age of ignorance, utterly abolished out of the western countries. Yea, it is well the other two learned tongues were preserved in these places; Crekelade and Lechlade being then cities of eminent note, shrunk now to mean towns, and content with plain English, where Latin and Greek were formerly professed.

30. But now the muses swam down the stream of the river Isis, to be twenty miles nearer to the rising sun, and were by king Alfred removed from Crekelade and Lechlade to Oxford, where he founded an university. Yet some say Alfred did find, and

A. D. 878.
8 Alfredi.

and Lechlade.

A. D. 882.
The university first founded by Alfred at Oxford.

^a [In his observations upon this passage Dr. Heylyn remarks; "The country people, as it seems, do better understand themselves than our author doth. Amongst whom there is a common tradition that Crekelade was a university of Greek philosophers, Lechlade of leches or physi-

cians, as the name doth intimate; and Latten, a small village betwixt both, to be the place of study for the Latin tongue." He then proceeds to shew that Lechlade takes its name from the river Lech. Examen Hist. p. 40. The Appeal, &c. part II. p. 15.

A.D. 882. not found letters therein, seeing there was a
12 Alfredi. sprinkling of students therein before; though learning was very low and little therein, till this considerable accession, when Alfred founded therein three colleges; one for grammarians, a second for philosophers, a third for divines. Take a list of their primitive professors:

In divinity: St. Grimbald, St. Neot.

In grammar: Asserius a monk.

In logic: John of St. David's^a.

In mathematics: Joannes Monachus^a.

It is credibly reported, that what is now called University college, was then one of king Alfred's foundations, as the verses written in their hall under his arms do attest:

Nobilis Alfredi sunt hæc insignia, cujus

Primum constructa est hæc pietate domus.

And from this time learning flourished here in great plenty and abundance, though oftentimes abated; the universities feeling the impressions of the commonwealth.

King's-hall
 founded by
 king Al-
 fred.

31. At the same time wherein king Alfred built University college in Oxford, he also founded another house called King's-great-hall, (intimating a lesser hard by,) now included within the compass of Brazen-nose college^t. And hence it is that at this very day it payeth some chief rent to University college, as the ancient owner thereof. Here he placed Johannes Scotus (highly endeared in this king's affections) reader therein. On the clearing of whose extraction and opinions a long story doth depend.

^t Wake's *Rex Platonius*, p. 211. [ed. 1627.] "de monasterio S. David Me-
 "nevix ad se vocavit." Hig-

^s [Evidently the same person: "Johannem monachum
 den, p. 256.]

32. This Scotus is called Johannes Scotus Erigena, with addition sometimes of Sophista: so that all may amount to a kind of definition of him as to his individual person. Conceive we Scotus for his genus, which because homonymous in that age, as signifying both Scotland and Ireland, Erigena is added for his difference^v, that is, born, as some will have it, in Ireland, called Erin in their own country language^w. But Dempster, a Scotch writer, who will leave nothing that can be gotten above ground, yea, will dive and dig into the water and land of others, to the credit of his country, claimeth Scotus as born in Scotland, spelling him Airigena, from Aire, a small place therein^x. But besides unanswerable arguments to the contrary, *gena* is a termination seldom added to so restrictive a word, but, as Francigena, Angligena, denoteth generally the nation, not petty place of a man's extraction^y. As for Dempster, his credit runneth low with me, ever since he made pope Innocentius the First a Scotchman, because calling himself Albanus, (and Scotland forsooth is Albania,) it being notoriously known that the said Innocent was born at Long Alba nigh Rome. Yea, Bellarmine

A.D. 882.
12 Alfredi.

The birth-
place of
Jo. Scotus.

^v Jac. Ware, de Scrip. Hib. p. 43. [ed. 1639.]

^w Mercat. Atlas, p. 34. [ed. Hond. 1621.]

^x Eccles. Hist. Scot. lib. i. §. 64. et lib. ix. §. 704.

^y [A very just account and several pleasing anecdotes of Johannes Scotus will be found in Malmsb. de Gestis Pontificum, v. p. 360. ed. Gale; and in Wharton, Angl. Sac. II. 27. In the letter of pope Nicholas, of which an extract has been preserved by Malmsbury, this

writer is called, "Johannes genere Scotus;" that is, an Irishman, for the term Scotus was not applied to natives of Scotland, as it is now called, till some time after. See the authorities quoted by Usher, Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 382. sq. The discrepant opinions respecting Johannes Scotus are briefly recapitulated by Fabricius in his Bibliotheca Mediæ Latinitatis, ix. p. 136. ed. 1754.]

A.D. 882. himself said, reading the three books of Dempster,
 12 Alfredi. wherein he hooketh in so many for his countrymen,
 that he thought that if he should add a fourth, he
 would make Jesus Christ himself to be a Scotch-
 man.

Wales its
 right to
 Scotus his
 birth.

33. All this while Wales stands modestly silent,
 with intention to put in her claim the last to Scotus
 his nativity, whom many writers make born at St.
 David's^z. Whilst some will have the epithet of
 Erigena affixed unto him, *quasi ἔρι γινόμενος*, "early-
 "born," because of the timely rising of his parts (as
 a morning star) in those dark days: which I can
 better applaud for an ingenious allusion, than approve
 for a true and serious assertion. But be Scotus born
 where he please, most sure it is, by king Alfred he
 was made a professor of learning in Oxford.

Scotus,
 saith Cai-
 us, studied
 at Cam-
 bridge.

34. I confess Caius maketh this John Scotus
 scholar to Bede, (as many good authors also do^a.) and
 brought up at Cambridge^b: to which the sons of our
 aunt are loath to consent, that one who was taught in
 Cambridge should teach in Oxford; and their elo-
 quent orator^c falls very foul, save that it is some
 ease to be railed on in good Latin, on him for the
 same. Now because we Cambridge men are loath to
 take a limb of John Scotus, or any other learned
 man, more than what will come of itself, with the

^z Bale's Cent. ii. §. 24.

^a Trithemius, [115. ed. 1546.]
 et ejus sequaces. [Apparently
 Trithemius is not speaking of
 the same person as Fuller.
 Trithemius distinguishes Jo-
 hannes Scotus, a monk of the
 order of S. Benedict, from Jo-
 hannes Erigena; the first a
 disciple of Bede, and flourish-

ing in the reign of Charle-
 magne, the other living in the
 time of Lotharius the emperor
 fifty years after. Trithem. de
 Script. Eccl. p. 115, 119.]

^b Cajus de Ant. Cant. lib. i.
 p. 157. [ed. 1574.]

^c Wake's Rex Platonius,
 p. 212.

consent of chronology, and because I find Bale^d dis-
 likes the same, chiefly on the account of his impro-
 bable vivacity of an hundred and seventy years, I
 can be content to resign my particular title unto
 him, provided it be without prejudice to others of
 our university, who hereafter may challenge him
 with better arguments^e.

35. I much wonder that this Scotus should be so
 degraded in his old age from Oxford to Malmsbury;
 from a professor in a university to a schoolmaster in
 a country town; where pouring learning into his
 lads, (rather in proportion to the plenty of the
 fountain than to the receipt of the vessels,) he was
 severe to such scholars as were dull in their appre-
 hensions. This so irritated their anger against him,
 that by an universal conspiracy they dispatched him
 in the school with their penknives. I find not what
 punishment was inflicted upon them: whipping being
 too little if sturdy youths, and hanging too much if
 but little boys. Only I observe one Cassianus, a

A. D. 882.
 12 Alfredi.

Miserably
 murdered
 by his
 scholars.

^d Bale, ib.

^e [No good writer, as far as I can find, states that Johannes Scotus studied at either of the universities, if indeed they existed at the time. Scotus was the author of a tract, *De Divisione Naturæ*, (since published at Oxford in 1681,) in which he had broached certain tenets abhorrent to the catholic faith. To avoid the ill consequences of this, according to Malmsbury, he left France, and came over to England, and had his residence appointed for him by the king, in the monastery of Malmsbury, where he

was killed in the manner here described, and buried in the church of St. Laurence. In the year 1225, when this tract began to attract considerable attention, on account of the spreading of the tenets of the Albigenses, pope Honorius III. issued a bull, directed to all archbishops and bishops, enjoining them to make diligent search for all copies of the work, and to send it to Rome without delay to be burnt, as containing many heretical tenets. See this bull in Fabricius, *ibid*. See also Malmsb. f. 24, b.]

A. D. 882. schoolmaster in primitive times, sent the same way
 12 Alfredi. on the same occasion; his death being elegantly described by Prudentius^f.

Unmartyr-
 ed by Ba-
 ronius.

36. All the amends which is made to the memory of Scotus is, that he was made a martyr after his death, and his anniversary is remembered in the calendar on the fourth of the ides of November, in the Roman martyrology, set forth at Antwerp 1586, by the command of Gregory the Thirteenth. But since Baronius hath unmartyred him, and that on good reason, saith Henry Fitz-Simon^g, attesting that an apology is provided, confirmed with approbation of many popes, cardinals, and many learned doctors, justifying Baronius therein, which we, as yet, have not beheld. Indeed Scotus detested some superstitions of the times, especially about the presence in the Lord's Supper; and I have read^h that his book *De Eucharistia* was condemned in the Vercellian synod for some passages therein by pope Leoⁱ. This

^f Prudentius, in his *Peristephanon*. [Hymn. ix. In Bib. Max. Patrum, vol. V. p. 1024. ed. 1677.]

^g In 2 edit. Catal. SS. Hib. [p. 96. Published at the end of J. F. (Roth's) *Hiberniæ Vindiciæ*, ed. 1621.]

^h Joh. Parisiensis Hist. in anno 877, [quoted in Malmsb. ib., and Bale, ib.]

ⁱ [Held in the year 1050, when the book of Berengarius on the same subject was burnt. Berengarius was led to the opinions which he afterwards entertained of the eucharist, by perusing Scot's book, which was probably the first time that attention was directed to-

wards it; which makes the suspicion of Fuller very improbable. He has forgotten the literary and theological state of England at the time. Besides, this work of Scotus was written at the desire of Charles the Bald, and probably was not published in England. This suspicion Fuller derived from that absurd writer, Bale.

Scot and Berengarius held the same doctrine as Bertram or Ratramnus, the writer from whom bishop Ridley and our other reformers derived their views of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. See Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 257.]

makes it suspicious, that some hands of more age, A.D. 882.
 and heads of more malice than schoolboys, might 12 Alfredi.
 guide the penknives which murdered Scotus, because
 of his known opposition against some practices and
 opinions of that ignorant age.

37. It is much that this Scotus, though carrying Scotus con-
 in his name a comment on himself, that all should founded
 not suffice so distinctly to expound him to some with other
 apprehensions, but that still they confound him with of his name-
 others of his name ; sometimes with Johannes Scotus sakes.
 Mailrosius^k, sometimes with John Duns Scotus ;
 though indeed there be difference enough of time,
 place, and other distinguishing characters betwixt
 them. Our present Scotus being most probably an
 Irishman, a great linguist in the learned tongues, a
 vast traveller into the eastern parts, a monk by pro-
 fession, killed and buried at Malmsbury. The other
 Scotus born in Northumberland, skilled only (and
 that but meanly) in Latin, never travelling further
 than France and the hither part of Germany, a Fran-
 ciscan by his order, dying of an apoplexy, and buried
 at Cologne ; of whom, God willing, largely here-
 after.

38. To return to king Alfred. As for the main- The scho-
 tenance of the scholars, it issued forth annually from lars main-
 Alfred's exchequer, who made a fourfold division of tenance out
 his wealth^l ; understand it of the surplusage thereof, of the
king's ex-
chequer.
 more than what his court and camp expended : one
 part to the poor of all kinds that came and craved
 of him ; a second to the monasteries of his own
 erection ; a third to the school, understand Oxford,

^k Bale, *ib.*

Alfredi Gestis, [p. 19. ed.

^l Asserius Menevensis De Camden.]

A. D. 882. which he himself had founded ; the fourth and last
12 Alfredi. to the neighbouring monasteries round about. However, we may easily believe that after his death the students of Oxford were often at a loss of livelihood. For, seeing the coffers of the greatest kings (especially in the time of war) are subject to a drought of coin, there must needs be a dearth in those colleges, which are watered thence for their maintenance. Scholars may in time of peace, but soldiers must be paid in time of war. Wherefore, the most certain subsistence for scholars (so far forth as inconstant things, as all sublunary can be made constant) is what ariseth from solid lands, wherewith they are endowed. For though even such revenues are subject to casualties, yet some water will ever be running, though the tide thereof may ebb or flow according to the fall or rise of commodities.

A. D. 885. 39. But it is hard so to compose two swarms of
Dissension bees in one hive but that they will fall out and
betwixt the fight. The college of logic, it seems, from the
students at foundation thereof, studied divisions as well as distinctions ; there happening a dangerous difference
Oxford. betwixt the Aborigines and the Advenæ, the old stock of students, and the new store brought in by St. Grimbald : the former, standing on their seniority, expected more respect unto themselves, deriving their privileges from their learned ancestors, time out of mind, which the Grimbaldists would not consent unto. Both sides appealed to Alfred as their patron^m. He coming to Oxford, carried himself with much moderation, as accounting that agreement most durable into which the parties were persuaded, not com-

^m [See Asser, p. 52, and p. 132. ed. Wise.]

manded. Grimbald, expecting king Alfred's zealous ^{A. D. 885.} engaging on his side, according to the conceived ^{15 Alfredi.} merits of his cause, was not a little offended that the king did not appear more resolute in his behalf. Insomuch that he forsook Oxford, wherein he had formerly built the church of St. Peter from the very foundation, with stone most curiously wrought and polished, and translated both himself and his intended tomb thence to Winchester.

40. An antiquary tells us, that the ancient arms ^{The arms of Oxford.} were assigned to Oxford about this time, namely, in a field azure, a Bible with seven seals appendant thereunto, opened (at the beginning of St. John's Gospel, *In the beginning was the Word, &c.*) betwixt three crowns or: which three crowns, saith he, signify the three senses of the scriptureⁿ: in the which, I confess, I do not understand him. For either we must admit but one sense of the scripture, as principally intended therein, which is the general opinion of the protestants, or if, with the papists, we will allow mo senses than one, we must conclude four, namely, the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical^o. What if the three crowns import the three professions which Alfred here founded, and all necessary to the understanding of the book betwixt them? Grammar, to understand the letter; philosophy, the reason; and divinity, the mystery of the scripture.

41. One of the first scholars of note whom I find ^{One, once a swine-herd, made bishop of} bred in Oxford, was one Denulfus, once a swine-herd in Athelney, when Alfred lurked therein, being ^w

ⁿ Brian Twyne in Apolog. prima pars, quæst. 1. art. 10.
Antiq. Oxon. [p. 201.] [p. 3. ed. 1604.]

^o Aquinas, Summa Theolog.

A. D. 885. the king's host, who entertained him, or rather his
 15 Alfredi. master, whom the king served. Alfred perceiving
 in him pregnancy of parts, (though stifled with the
 narrowness, and crippled with the lowness of his vo-
 cation,) sent him to Oxford^p, where he became, after
 some years' study, doctor in divinity, and was by the
 king, in gratitude, preferred to be bishop of Win-
 chester^q. But the monks of Winchester are so
 proud and sullen, they disdain to accept this man for
 their bishop, affirming, that their see stood void at
 this time^r; more willing to confess a vacancy, than
 admit a swineherd into their episcopal chair. Whereas
 surely Alfred, so great a scholar and good a man,
 would not have advanced him *per saltum*, from a
 swineherd to a bishop, had he not been qualified by
 intermediate degrees of education. For mine own
 part, I see no reason why Winchester should be

^p Godwin, [De Præsul. p. 207. There is as much authority for this assertion as there is for that of Scotus being a student at Oxford. Nor is the succeeding remark more just, that Denulf was a swineherd at Athelney; for Alfred did not retire thither till the year 878, and in 879 Denulf was made bishop of Winchester. See Wharton's Ang. Sacr. I. 108. The report is indeed mentioned, with some misgivings, by Florence of Worcester, who saw in all probability that it could not be reconciled in its original state with the course of Alfred's history, for he has suppressed the name of the place (Athelney) where Alfred is said to have met him, and states merely that he

met him in a wood feeding swine: "in silvam profugus
 "casu sues pascentem offen-
 "dit." Flor. Wigorn. an. 879. Indeed this entire period of Alfred's reign is involved in great confusion, as might be expected. Two distinct classes of legends respecting the life of this monarch remain to us; the one has been followed by Asser, the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and Symeon of Durham; the other by Ingulph, Malmsbury, Matthew of Westminster. Each has little in common with the other.]

^q Malmsb. de Gest. Pontificum, [f. 138.]

^r See Mr. Isaacson's Chronology, [p. 423. ed. 1633.]

ashamed of him; and for ought I know, Denulf might be as good a bishop as Dunstan, of whom the monks of Winchester so boast, both without cause and measure.

42. Councils (except councils of war) were very rare in this age. The first I find a solemn one, celebrated by king Alfred^s; the place not expressed, but the canons therein fairly transmitted to posterity. The preface of these canons is very remarkable, consisting of three parts^t.

A. D. 887.
17 Alfredi.

The preface to the canons made by king Alfred.

i. The ten commandments translated into Saxon, as being the basis and foundation of all human laws.

ii. Several pieces of chapters in Exodus, being the breviae of the judicial law of the Jews; which though in the latitude thereof calculated only for the Jewish commonwealth, yet the moral equity therein obligeth all Christians.

iii. The fifteenth chapter of the Acts, containing the council of Jerusalem, as being a divine precedent or warrant for Christians to convene together, and conclude orders for regulating men's conversations.

It is remarkable, that in the aforesaid ten commandments, as exemplified in this council of Alfred, the second commandment is wholly expunged; image-worship beginning then to grow common in the world, and the clergy, who gained thereby (hating the second commandment on the same account as Ahab did Micaiah^u, because it ever prophe-

^s [This was apparently no council at all; nor were these the canons of any council; but merely a collection by the king of such laws, selected from those of his predecessors, as appeared to him most deserving of distinction. This is clear from the conclusion of them.]

^t Spelman's Conc. I. 354 [= 186. Wilkins, I. 186.]

^u 1 Kings xxii. 8.

A. D. 887. sised evil unto them,) dashed it out of the Decalogue.
 17 Alfredi. The worst is, when this was wanting, the Decalogue was but an ennealogue; and therefore to preserve the number of ten, the papists generally cleave the last commandment into two: but in Alfred's preface this is made the tenth and last commandment, "Thou shalt not worship gods of gold and silver." Which, as it comes in out of its proper place, (and why should not God's order be observed, as well as his number, in the commandments?) so it is defectively rendered nothing so full against graven-images, as God propounded it. The canons made in this council fall under a threefold consideration. Some relate only to the commonwealth, and by us may properly be forborne. Others concern only monks and friars, (a sixth finger, and no necessary member of the church,) and, as *actio moritur cum persona*, so with the extirpation of those convents, those canons may seem to expire.

A. D. 889. 43. Plegmund, an eremite in the isle of Chester,
 A general contri- (now called Plegmundsham,) tutor to king Alfred,
 bution to was by him preferred to be archbishop of Canter-
 Rome and bury, then a miserable place, as hardly recovered
 Jerusalem. from the late sacking of the Danes. By the king's command, he called the clergy of England together, and made a collection of alms, to be sent to Rome and Jerusalem^v: and Athelm, archbishop of York, was employed in the journey, going personally to the aforesaid places to see the contribution there faithfully delivered and equally distributed.

^v [According to Mat. Westmon. in an. 889, whose authority is worth very little. He has probably confounded this with another assembly held under

king Edward. See Malmsh. f. 26. Æthelmus was bishop of Winchester, not archbishop of York.]

44. About the end of this century died worthy ^{A. D. 901.} king Alfred, remarkable to posterity on many ac- ^{21 Alfredi.} counts, whereof this not the least; that he turned ^{Death of} David's Psalms into English; so that a royal text ^{king Al-} met with a royal translator. He left his crown to ^{fred.} Edward his son, commonly called the elder, far inferior to his father in skill in, but not so much in his love to good literature. Indeed he had an excellent tutor, Asserius Menevensis, archbishop of St. David's, the faithful writer of his father's actions, supposed by some bishop of Sherborn^w, which is denied by others^x, (though one of the same name was some years before,) as inconsistent with chronology.

45. As for the principal clergymen extant at this ^{Weak} time, we take special notice of two: the one, Ber- ^{guardians} thulf bishop of Winchester^y, made one of the guard- ^{God wot.} ians of the realm against the incursion of the Danes; the other, Ealheard bishop of Dorchester, advanced also into the same employment. But alas! what weak guardians were these to defend the land, which could not secure their own sees! And in what capacity, save in prayers and tears, were they able to make any resistance? for now the Danes not only assailed the skirts and outsides of the land, but also made

^w [See Wise in his edition of Asser. If this Asser be the same as the author of Alfred's life, he was indisputably bishop of Sherborn. "Habebat (Alfredus) ex sancto Dewi Asserionem quendam scientia non ignobili instructum quem Schireburniæ fuit episcopus." Malmsh. 24, b. The authenticity of Asser's narrative is involved in great difficulty. In its present state it is evidently much interpolated.

^x Usher de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 1177 = p. 544.

^y [The sole authority for this statement is Mat. Westmin. (in an. 897.), who has carelessly transcribed from Florentius Wigorn. or the Saxon Chronicle. By comparing these writers, in the year 897, the reader will easily see the origin of the error. There was no bishop of Winchester of the name of Berthulf.]

A.D. 901.
21 Alfredi.

The woful
estate of
the Eng-
lish.

inroads many miles into the continent thereof. In-
somuch that Winchester lay void six, and Sherborn
seven years; such the pagan fury, that none durst
offer to undertake those places.

46. True it is, the English oftentimes in battle got
the advantage of them; when the pagan Danes being
conquered, had but one way to shift for themselves,
namely, to counterfeit themselves Christians, and em-
brace baptism: but no sooner had they got power
again into their hands, but that they turning apostates
were ten times more cruel than ever before. Thus
successively was the land affected with sickness,
recovery, and relapses; the people's condition being
so much the more disconsolate, because promising a
continuance of happiness to themselves upon their
victories, they were on their overthrows remanded to
the same, if not a worse condition.

The com-
mendable
temper of
king Al-
fred and
king Ed-
ward.

47. It is strange to observe the alternations of
success between the English and Danes, how exactly
they took their turns; God using them to hold up
one another, whilst he justly beat both. Meantime
commendable the temper of late king Alfred and
present king Edward; it being true of each of them,

Si modo victus erat, ad crastina bella parabat;
Si modo victor erat, ad crastina bella timebat^y.

If that it happ't that conquered was he,
Next day to fight he quickly did prepare;
But if he chanc'd the conqueror to be,
Next day to fight he wisely did beware.

But these things we leave to the historians of the
state to prosecute, and confine ourselves only to mat-
ters of ecclesiastical cognizance.

^y [These verses are part of Wharton's *Ang. Sacr.* I. 208.
a longer poem. See Hunting- Both copies vary slightly from
don, f. 202, and Rudborne, in the lines in the text.]

THE TENTH CENTURY.

JACOBO LANGHAM, ARMIGERO, AMPLISSIMI
SENATORIS LONDINENSIS PRIMOGENITO ^a.

Decimam hanc Centuriam tibi dedicandam curavi, quod numerus denarius semper aliquid augustum sonet. Sic in Papicolarum globulis, quibus preculas suas numerant, decimus (ut decurio) aliis magnitudine præstat.

At dices, centuria hæc inter ecclesiasticos audit infelix, cum sua tantum obscuritate sit illustris. Quid tibi igitur, felicissimo viro, cui lætum ingenium, lauta hæreditas, cum infelici seculo?

Verbo expediam. Volui nomen tuum historiæ meæ hic prætendi, ut instar phosphori, lectores in hac tenebrosa ætate oberrantes splendoris sui radiis dirigat.

Percurras, quæso, insequentes paginas nihil scientiæ, aliquid voluptatis tibi allaturas. Quo cum nemo sit in ipsis elegantiarum apicibus Latinior, probe scio, te perquam suaviter risurum, cum Diploma Edvardinum, nimia barbarie scatens, perlegeris.



T this time there was a great dearth of ^{A. D. 904.}
bishops in the land, which lasted for ^{† Edvardi senioris.}
seven years, (as long as the famine in
Egypt,) during which time there was
no bishop in all the west parts of Eng-
land. Pope Formosus was foully offended hereat,

England
interdicted
by the pope
for want of
bishops.

^a [Arms. This coat is erroneously given as three horses, heads couped, bridled, and bit-
ted, two and one. The arms, as borne by James Langham, esq. were, argent a chevron sable, between three bears' heads couped of the second, muzzled or. Crest, a bear's head erased, sable. This James (afterwards sir James) Langham was the second baronet of that family, and ancestor to its present representative. He was seated at Cotesbrook, North-

ants, of which county he was high-sheriff in 1664. He was thrice married, his first wife being Mary, daughter of sir Edward Alston, his second Elizabeth, daughter of Ferdinando Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, and his third, who survived him, Penelope, daughter of John Holles, earl of Clare. His father, sir John Langham, was an alderman and sheriff of London 18th Car. I. (1642.), and was created a baronet 7th June, 1660. B.]

A.D. 904.
† Edwardi
senioris.

and thereupon, *cum magna iracundia et devotione*^a, “with much passion and piety,” by his curse and excommunication, interdicted king, kingdom, and all the subjects therein. We cannot but gaze at the novelty of this act, (as we conceive a leading case in this kind,) whilst the skilful in the canon law can give an account of the equity of the pope’s proceedings, why all should suffer for some, the guiltless with the guilty, and have the word and sacraments taken from them for the want of bishops in other places: otherwise, the punishment seemeth unjust in the rigid justice thereof, and (if not heavier) larger than the offence, and beareth no proportion with common equity, Christian charity, and God’s proceedings, who saith, *The soul that sinneth, it shall die*.

The character of those kings on whom the pope most improved himself.

2. Notwithstanding, this excommunicating of king Edward by the pope is highly urged by Parsons^b, to prove the pope’s power in England over princes, according to his constant solecism clean through the tenure of his book, to reason *a facto ad jus*, arguing from the pope’s barely doing it, that he may justly do it. We deny not but that in this age active and ambitious popes mightily improved their power upon five sorts of princes. First, on such as were lazy and voluptuous; who, on condition they might enjoy their sports and delights for the present, cared not for their posterity. Secondly, on such as were openly vicious, and so obnoxious to censure; who would part with any thing, out of the apprehension of their guiltiness. Thirdly, on such as were tender and easy-natured; who gave, not so much out of bounty to give, as out of bashfulness to deny the

^a Archiv. Cant. in Regist. kins, as below.]
Priorat. Eccles. Cant. f. 3, b. ^b In his answer to the lord
[Quoted in Spelman and Wil- Coke’s Report, c. 6. p. 136.

pope's importunity. Fourthly, on those of a timorous spirit; who were affrighted with their own fancies of the pope's terribleness, and being captivated unto him by their own fear, they ransomed themselves at what price he pleased. Lastly, on pious princes; whose blind zeal and misled devotion thought nothing too precious for him: in which form we rank this Edward the elder, then king of England. And it is worth our observing, that in point of power and profit, what the popes once get, they ever hold, being as good at keeping as catching; so that what one got by encroaching, his successor prescribed that encroachment for a title, which whether it will hold good in matter of right, it is not for an historian to dispute.

3. But to return to our story. We are glad to see Malmsbury so merry, who calleth this passage of the pope's interdicting England, *jocundum memoratu*^c, "pleasant to be reported," because it ended so well. For Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury posted to Rome, bringing with him *honorifica munera*, (such ushers will make one way through the thickest crowd to the pope's presence,) informing his holiness that Edward king of England, in a late-summoned synod, had founded some new, and supplied all old vacant bishoprics. Pacified herewith, the pope turned his curse into a blessing, and ratified their elections. The worst is, a learned pen tells me, that in this story there is an inextricable error in point of chronology^d, which will not suffer pope Formosus and this king Edward the elder to meet together^e.

^c [De Gestis Regum, f. 26.]

^d Spelman's Concil. I. p. 389 = [Wilkins, I. 201.]

^e [Because Formosus died in the year 896. Neither the

Saxon Chronicle nor Florence of Worcester notice this interdict, nor the mission of Plegmund.]

A. D. 904.
4 Edvardi
senioris.

And Baronius makes the mistake worse by endeavouring to mend it. I have so much wariness as not to enter into that labyrinth, out of which I cannot return; but leave the doubt to the pope's datary to clear, proper to him, as versed in such matters. The same pen informs me^e, that the sole way to reconcile the difference is, to read pope Leo the Fifth instead of pope Formosus: which for quietness I am content to do, the rather because such a roaring curse best besseems the mouth of a lion.

Vacant bishoprics
supplied,
and new
erected.

4. Hear now the names of the seven bishops which Plegmund consecrated in one day: a great day's work, and a good one, if all were fit for the function. Frithestan bishop of Winchester, a learned and holy man, Werstan of Sherborn, Cenulf of Dorchester, Beornege of Selsey, Æthelm of Wells, Eadulf of Crediton in Devon, and Æthelstan in Cornwall of St. Petrock's^f. These three last western bishoprics were in this council newly erected. But St. Petrock's had never long any settled seat, being much in motion, translated from Bodmin in Cornwall (upon the wasting of it by the Danes) to St. German's in the same county, and afterwards united to Crediton in Devonshire. This bishopric was founded principally for the reduction of the rebellious Cornish to the Romish rites; who as they used the language, so they imitated the lives and doctrine of the ancient Britons, neither hitherto nor long after submitting themselves to the see apostolic.

A. D. 906.
King Ed-

5. A synod was called at Intingford^g, where Ed-

^e Ibidem.

^f [See Malsb. f. 141. Flor. Wigorn. et Diceto in Abbr. Chron. an. 909.]

^g [The locality of this place is now unknown. But probably it was within or near Huntingdonshire.]

ward the Elder, and Guthrun king of the Danes, in that part of England which formerly belonged to the East-Angles, only confirmed the same ecclesiastical constitutions which Alured, Edward's father, with the said Guthrun, had made before^b. Here the curious palates of our age will complain of *crambe*, that two kings, with their clergy, should meet together only *actum agere*, to do what was done to their hands. But whilst some count all councils idle which do not add or alter, others will commend their discretion who can discern what is well ordered already, approve their policy in enjoining such things unto others, and principally praise their piety for practising them in themselves. And whosoever looks abroad into the world with a judicious eye, will soon see that there is not so much need of new laws, (the multitude whereof rather cumbers men's memories than quickens their practice), as an absolute necessity to enforce old laws, with a new and vigorous execution of them.

6. And now king Edward, remembering the pious example of his father Alfred in founding of Oxford, began to repair and restore the university of Cambridge. For the Danes, who made all the sea-coasts of England their haunt, and kept the kingdom of the East-Angles for their home, had banished all learning from that place; Apollo's harp being silenced by Mars his drum: till this king's bounty brought learning back again thither, as by his following charter may appear.

" In nomine D. Jesu Christi. Ego Edwardus, Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, divino compulsus amore,

^b Lambard in his Saxon Spelman, ib. p. 390. [Wilkins, Laws, [p. 38. ed. 1644] and I. 202.]

A. D. 915.
15 Edvardi
senioris.

“ præcepto Joannis, apostolicæ sedis episcopi, ac
“ Pleigmundi Cantuar. archiepisc. consilio, omnium
“ sacerdotum et principum meæ dominationis, uni-
“ versa et singula privilegia, doctoribus et scholaribus
“ Cantabrigiæ, nec non servientibus eorundem, (uti
“ ab olim viguit indesinenter mater philosophiæ, et
“ reperitur in præsentī fons clerimonix,) a me data,
“ seu ab antecessoribus meis quomodo libet concessa,
“ stabili jure grata et rata decerno durare, quamdiu
“ vertigo poli circa terras atque æquora æthera syde-
“ rum justo moderamine volvet. Datum in Grante-
“ cestria, anno ab incarnatione D. 915, venerabili
“ fratri Frithstano, civitatis scholarium Cantabrig.
“ cancellario, et doctori per suum, &c.ⁱ”

The credit of this charter is questioned by some, because of the barbarous style thereof; as if a university were disgraced with honourable privileges granted unto it in base Latin. But know, that age was so poor in learning, it could not go to the cost of good language. Who can look to find a fair face in the hottest parts of Ethiopia? Those times were ignorant: and as it is observed of the country-people born at the village of Carlton in Leicestershire, that they have all (proceeding from some secret cause in their soil or water) a strange uncouth wharling in their speech^k, so it was proper to the persons writing in this age to have a harsh, unpleasant, grating style, (and so much the sourer to critical ears, the

ⁱ Charta extat in MS. codice qui Cantabrigiæ est in Aula Clarensi, ejusdem meminit Tho. Rudburn, nec non Joh. Ros-sus, [p. 96. ed. Hearne, 1716. Dr. Heylyn objects to the authenticity of this charter, upon the ground that the words *doc-*

tor and *chancellor* were not at that time used in the sense here attributed to them. Exam. Hist. p. 43. See The Appeal, &c. part II. p. 19, and sir H. Spelman in his Glossary.]

^k Camden's Brit. in Leicestershire, p. 517.

more it is sweetened with an affected rhythm,) though a blemish, yet a badge of their genuine deeds which were passed in those times¹.

A.D. 915.
15 Edvardi
senioris.

7. Hear also what John Rosse, an excellent antiquary, furnished by king Edward the Fourth with privacy and pension to collect the monuments of this land, allegeth to this purpose. Who being bred in Oxford, and having written a book in confutation of those which deduce the foundation of this university from Cantaber, may be presumed will allow Cambridge no more than what in right is due unto her^m. He speaking of king Edward the elder, out of an ancient table and chronicle of Hyde-abbey by Winchester, which himself by the favour of the abbot perused, reporteth of the restoration of decayed Cambridge at this time, in manner as followeth.

The testimony of John Rosse concerning king Edward's repairing of Cambridge.

Propterea ad clerimoniam augmentandam, sicut pater suus Oxoniam, sic ipse ab antiquo cum cæteris studiis generalibus suspensam, desolatam, et destructam Cantabrigiam, iterum ad primam gloriam erexit; necnon ibi aulas studentium, et doctorum magistrorumque cathedras et sedilia, ut dilectissimus cleri nutritor, amator et defensor, suis sumptibus erigi et fabricari præcepit. Ab Oxonia namque universitate, quam pater

“ Therefore for the augmentation of clerklike learning, as “ his father had done to Oxford, “ so he again raised up Cambridge “ to her first glory, which for a “ long time, with other general “ schools, had been suspended, “ desolate, and destroyed: as also, “ like a most loving nourisher of “ the clergy, he commanded that “ halls for students, chairs and “ seats of doctors and masters, “ should there be erected, and “ built on his own proper charges: “ for he called from Oxford university, which his noble father

¹ [This barbarous and grotesque style was introduced into our charters at the time of king Alfred, and imported from Byzantium, according to the opinion of J. M. Kemble, esq.

Traces of it however may be seen at an earlier period. See Malsb. Vita Aldhelmi, p. 9, 10, &c.]

^m Bale, Cent. viii. §. 53.

A. D. 915. *suus nobilis rex [Alfredus]* "the king had erected, masters
 15 Edwardi *erexerat, magistros artium* "of those arts which we call li-
 senioria. *quas liberales vocamus, pa-* "beral, together with doctors in
riterque in sacra theologia "holy divinity, and invited them
doctores advocavit, ibique ad "there formally to read and
legendum formaliter, et do- "teach."
cendum invitavit^m.

Cambridge
 represented
 in a three-
 fold estate.

8. Have we here Cambridge presented in a three-fold condition. First, what she had been long before king Edward's time; fairly flourishing with learning. Secondly, in what case he found her; desolate and decayed. Then the cup of Cambridge was at the bottom, her breasts dry, and her sun in an eclipse. She was, saith Rosse, suspended, not by the power of any pope's keys, as the word may import, but by the force of pagan swords, who here interrupted the exercise of acts and public lectures; as in Spain, Germany, and other foreign parts, places appointed for learning, had shared in the like calamity. Thirdly, in what condition Edward left her; under whom, as under the father of the act, Cambridge itself did then commence and take a new degree. Happy this Edward, who like a wealthy landlord, had two nurseries of choice fruit; so that if the one by any sad accident chanced to fail, he could supply it from the other without being beholden to his neighbours. This was the love betwixt the two sisters; what either had, neither could want, and Oxford, which lent now, borrowed another time, as in due place shall appear. If the same authorⁿ elsewhere calleth this king Edward founder of Cambridge, it is by an

^m [Joh. Rossus, Hist. Regum Angliæ, p. 96. ed. Hearne. This is merely a verbal quotation from Rudburn by John Ross. He does not quote the passage which he saw in the Chronicle at Hyde.]

ⁿ In his Catalogue of the Earls of Warwick. (Unpublished.)

easy and obvious error, because a total repairer doth amount to a partial founder. Nor doth Cambridge regret thereat; seeing grateful expressions, which had rather transgress in the excess than the defect, may in courtesy call their mender their maker.

9. Æthelstan his son succeeded king Edward, being much devoted to St. John of Beverley; on whose church he bestowed a freed-stool, with large privileges belonging thereunto. Many councils were kept in this king's reign, at Exeter, Feversham, Thunderfield, and London, (all of them of uncertain date.) But one held at Greatlea is of greatest account for the laws therein enacted; the principal here ensuing^o.

i. "That the king's officers should truly pay tithes out of his demesnes, as well of his quick cattle, as dead commodities.

ii. "That cyricsceat (that is, firstfruits of seeds) be duly paid to God in his church^p.

^o [Brompton, p. 838. Wilkins' Concil. I. 205. I can find notice of no other councils during this reign except this one.]

^p [The word is nothing more than the Saxon *cyricsceat*, church-scot. Though some writers translate it, as though *sceat* was a corruption for *sad*, giving it the same sense with our author. See Spelman's Gloss. upon this word; where the arguments for this latter opinion do not appear conclusive.

These dues were probably omitted in the troubles which happened shortly after by the cruelty and barbarity of the

Danes, and were restored by Canute upon his return from his pilgrimage to Rome. A passage in this king's letter, which he addressed upon this occasion to his English subjects, gives a very clear account of them. "Nunc igitur præcipio omnes meos episcopos et regni præpositos—quatenus faciatis ut antequam ego Angliam veniam omnia debita quæ Deo secundum legem antiquam (that is, the laws of Æthelstan) debemus, sint per soluta. Scilicet eleemosinæ pro aratris, et decimæ animalium ipsius anni procreatorum, et denarii quos Romæ ad S. Petrum debemus, sive

A. D. 915.
15 Edwardi
senioris.

A. D. 924.
1 Æthel-
stani.
The prin-
cipal laws
enacted in
the council
at Greatlea.

A. D. 928.

A. D. 928.
5 Athel-
stani.

- iii. "That the king's officers maintain one poor body in the king's villages; and in case none be found therein, fetch him from other places."

(Christ saith, *The poor you have always with you*. The church in general is well stocked with them, though some particular parish may want such as are in want. If any would know the bill of fare allowed these poor people, It was monthly a measure of meal, *una perna*, a gammon of bacon, a ram worth a groat, four cheeses, and thirty pence on Easter Wednesday to buy them clothes.)

- iv. "That moniers wilfully corrupting the coin, and found guilty, have their hands cut off, and nailed to the mint-house."

(Every borough was allowed one mint therein: but besides these; Hastings one, Chichester one, Shaftsbury two, Wareham two, Exeter two, Hampton two, Lewes two, Rochester three [two for the king and one for the bishop], Winchester six, Canterbury seven, (*viz.* for the king four, for the archbishop two, for the abbot one), London eight. Most of these places were anciently in the West-Saxon kingdom: to whom the English monarchs were most favourable in doubling their privilege of coinage, but single in other places of greater capacity.)

- v. "That such who were tried by ordeal, should ceremoniously be prepared thereunto with the solemn manner of managing that trial."

"ex urbibus sive ex villis, et mediante Augusto decimæ frugum, et in festivitate S. Martini primitiæ seminum ad ecclesiam sub cujus parrochia quisque deget, quæ Anglice Ciricsceatt nominantur." Flor. Wigorn. a. 1031. See sir H. Ellis Introd. to Domesday, I. 300.

It should be observed that Fuller has followed Brompton's Latin copy of these

canons, and not the Saxon. The Latin copy is more full than the Saxon, and varies considerably in other points: thus in the third canon of the Saxon version it is merely, "and clothing for twelve months, every year," no stipulation of 30d. being paid on the third day of Easter, as in the Latin copies: and the drenching of witches in the eighth is omitted in the Saxon version.]

vi. "That no buying or selling be on the Lord's A.D. 928.
5 Athel-
stani.
day."

(This took not full effect for many years after; for Henry the First granted to Battel-abbey a market to be kept on that day, lately (at the motion of Anthony marquis Montacute) by act of parliament removed to another day^q.)

vii. "That one convicted of perjury shall be trusted no more on his oath, nor be buried in holy earth, except restored by the bishop on his penance."

viii. "That witches, confessing themselves to have killed any, be put to death."

(Such as were suspected, and denied the fact, might be tried by ordeal; which was done either by fire, whereof hereafter, or by water. Of the latter, *mergatur una ulna et dimidia in fune*, which I thus understand; Let the party be tied to a rope, and drenched an ell and a half above his own height. And this is the first footstep we find of swimming of witches; for which no law, save custom, at this day: and that whether just in itself, and satisfactory, (as a means proportionable for the discovery of the truth,) is not my work to determine.)

Whosoever desires to have more exact information of this council, may repair to sir Henry Spelman, where he may receive plentiful satisfaction^r.

10. Only I must not omit one passage in this council, acquainting us with the heraldry of that age, and the distances and degrees of persons, collected from their weers or weer-gilds, that is, taxes and valuations; it being truly to be said in that age, Dignities
and degrees
amongst
the Saxons.

Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet et fidei——

Every one's testimony in law-cases in courts was credited according to his wealth.

^q Camden's Brit. in Sussex, [p. 226.]

^r In his Concil. I. 396. et sequentibus. [Wilkins, I. 205.]

A. D. 928.
5 Athel-
stani.

i. Ceorles, whence our northern word *carles*, and common word *churles*, being country clowns, whose weergild was two hundred shillings, or ten pounds; the same with villanes, who held land in villanage of others. These, if by blessing on their industry they rose so high as to have five hides of land of their own, with a place in the king's court, and some other privileges, now hardly to be understood, were advanced to be thanes.

ii. The weergild, or value of a thane, was six times as much as a churle or a villane, namely, twelve times a hundred shillings, therefore termed a twelve hind-man; whose oath in law was equivalent to six oaths of churles or villanes; as a shilling passing in payment countervaieth six twopences. Note, that if a masseer or merchant pass the great sea thrice, (understand the Mediterranean, not the narrow seas betwixt us and France,) and not in the notion of a servant, but on his own account, he then was dignified with the reputation of a thane. These thanes were of two sorts: meset-thanes, priests qualified to say mass; and worrould-thanes, that is, secular or temporal thanes.

iii. Of the first, if a scholar made such proficiency in his studies that he took holy orders, he was reverently respected, and (though not valued as a worrould-thane in rates and taxes) amends were to be made for any wrongs done unto him equal to a thane; and in case he should be killed, the penalty thereof was the higher, the more orders the person had taken. Observe by the way, so far as we can understand the Saxon laws, that manslaughter was not then punished with death, but might be redeemed by the proportionable payment of a sum of

money, according to the quality of the person slain; ^{A. D. 928.} part thereof payable to the king, part to his kindred, ^{5 Æthel-} part to the country thereabouts^a.
stani.

But the further prosecution hereof, where the footsteps are almost outworn with time, we leave to more expert antiquaries; who will tell you, that alderman in that age was equal to our modern earl, who with bishops were of the same valuation: also that *comes* in that age sounded as much as *duke* in ours, archbishops going along with them in all considerable equipage.

11. Now began St. Dunstan^t to appear in court, ^{A. D. 933.} born at Glassenbury of noble parentage, (as almost ^{Dunstan} what saint in this age was not honourably extracted?) ^{his first} coming into ^{favour at} the court.
 nephew both to Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and Æthelm archbishop of Canterbury, yea kinsman remote to king Æthelstan himself: and being thus highly related, he could not miss of preferment.

^a [On this subject see Brompton's Chronicle, p. 845. ed. Twysden.]

^t [This account of St. Dunstan is taken principally from bishop Parker's Antiq. Eccl. Brit. p. 119 sq. See also a life of St. Dunstan written by Osbern a monk of Canterbury, published in Wharton's Ang. Sacra, II. p. 88, and another by Eadmer, monk and prior of Canterbury, the friend and biographer of St. Anselm, *ibid.* p. 211.]

Osbern flourished in the eleventh century. But his account of St. Dunstan was derived principally from a Saxon version of a Latin life of Dunstan, written probably but very shortly after Dunstan's

death, which escaped the conflagration in 1070, in which many of the records of the church of Canterbury were consumed. (Osb. vit. Dunst. p. 89.) It is stuffed with the most improbable and gross falsehoods, but yet is curious in many particulars, as the composition of one who had conversed with St. Dunstan, and who had visited the scenes of which he speaks.

Even at an earlier period than this a life of St. Dunstan was written by Adalardus, a monk of Bath, and Bridferth, a monk of Ramsey; the latter of which has been published in the Acta SS. 19 Maii, tom. IV. p. 345.]

A. D. 933. His eminencies were painting and graving, (two qualities disposing him to be very useful for saint-worshipping, either for pictures or images,) an excellent musician, (preaching in those days could not be heard for singing in churches,) and an admirable worker in brass and iron^v. These accomplishments commended him at court to be acceptable to company; and for some time he continued with the king in great reputation.

A. D. 935. 12. But it is given to that bowle which lies next to the mark, to have most take aim to remove it. Eminency occasions envy, which made Dunstan's enemies endeavour to depress him. He is accused to the king for a magician, and upon that account banished the court^w. It was brought as evidence

^v [Osbern, ib. p. 93. It seems likely that Dunstan excelled his contemporaries not only in those arts and sciences which were more usually cultivated in his time, such as music and painting, but likewise in the natural sciences, which were probably very little known. See Osbern, p. 93. That he should be an excellent worker in gold, silver, brass, and iron, they who have admired the exquisite productions of our forefathers will not wonder. Modern times have produced nothing in architecture or the ornamental arts equal to the taste of those days, called (vainly enough) the dark ages; and these works were under the direction of the ecclesiastics. To the ecclesiastics of those dark ages England owes most of what is excellent in her civil institutions

—whatever is noble in her buildings—the preservation of learning, and the cultivation of the arts.]

^w [Osbern, p. 94, 95. There is some difficulty in reconciling the accounts of St. Dunstan with the year of his birth as given by Osbern. For according to this writer he was born in the first year of king Æthelstan, that is, A. D. 924. But Æthelstan died when Dunstan was only seventeen, in the year 941, and Athelmus in the year 928. Consequently this account of St. Dunstan's appearance at Athelstan's court, and the subsequent narrative of his banishment, is a fiction, or Osbern is incorrect as to the date of St. Dunstan's birth. Most strange it is that these difficulties have not been noticed by Malmsbury.]

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against him, that he made his harp not only to have motion, but make music of itself, which no white art could perform.

A. D. 935.
12 Athel-
stani.

St. Dunstan's harp fast by the wall
Upon a pin did hang-a ;
The harp itself, with lie and all,
Untouch't by hand did twang-a.

For our part, let Dunstan's harp hang there still, on a double suspicion twisted together; first, whether this story thereof were true or false: secondly, if true, whether ~~done~~ by magic or miracle. Sure I am, as good a harper, and a better saint than Dunstan was, hath no such miracle reported of him, even David himself: who with his harp praised God, pleased men, frightened devils^x; yet took pains with his own right hand to play^y, not lazily commanding music by miracle to be made on his instrument.

13. Banished from court, Dunstan returns to Glas-
senbury, and there falls a puffing and blowing in his
forge. Here he made himself a cell, or rather a
little-ease, being but four feet long, two and a half
broad, (enough to cripple his joints with the cramp,
who could not lie along therein,) whilst the height
thereof was according to the stature of a man^z.
Wisely and virtuously he would not confine himself
upwards, that the scantness of the earthly dimensions
in his cell (breadth and length) might be enlarged in
the height thereof, and liberty left for the ascending
of his meditations. But it matters not how little

A. D. 937.
He retires
unto his
cell-prison
at Glas-
senbury.

^x 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

^y Psalm cxxxvii. 5.

^z [Osbern, who had seen it,
has given a description of this
cell in his *Life of St. Dunstan*,
p. 96. From the same writer

it is clear that the saint did
"lie along therein." The cell
indeed was only *five* feet long,
and Dunstan was very diminu-
tive.]

A. D. 937-
14 Athel-
stani. the prison be, if a man, with Dunstan, be his own jailer, to go in and out at pleasure. Leave we him at the furnace in smithery work, (excelling Alexander the coppersmith therein,) whilst we find such monks as wrote his life at another forge, whence they coined many impudent miracles pretended done by Dunstan, and this among the rest.

A. D. 938.
Takes a
devil by
nose. 14. Dunstan was in his vocation making some iron trinkets, when a Proteus-devil appeared unto him, changing into shapes, but fixing himself at last into the form of a fair woman^a. Strange, that Satan (so subtile in making his temptations most taking) should prefer this form; belike shrewdly guessing at Dunstan's temper, that a fair woman might work upon him, and Vulcan might love a Venus. Dunstan perceiving it, plucked his tongs glowing hot out of the fire, and with them kept him (or her shall I say?) there a long time by the nose roaring and belowing, till at last he brake lose, by what accident it is not told unto us.

This false
miracle
canvassed.

15. I have better employment than to spend precious time in confuting such follies; but give me leave to admire at these new arms against Satan. *Take the shield of faith, (saith the apostle,) wherewith ye may quench all the fiery darts of the wicked^b.* Dunstan found a new way by himself with fiery tongs to do the deed. But let us a little examine this miracle. The Devil himself we know is a spirit, and so impatient of material fire. Now if it were a real body he assumed, the snake could slip off his skin at pleasure, and not be tied to it, much less tormented with it. Besides, did Dunstan willingly or unwill-

^a [Osbern, p. 96.]

^b Eph. vi. 16.

ingly let the Devil go? If willingly, mercy to so malicious an enemy (incapable of being amended) was cruelty to himself: if unwillingly, was it Dunstan's fire or his faith that failed him, that he could hold out against him no longer? But away with all suspicions and queries: none need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a sign painted in Fleet-street near Temple-bar.

16. During Dunstan's abode in his cell, he had to his great comfort and contentment the company of a good lady, Ælfgyva by name, living fast by^c. No preacher but Dunstan would please her, being so ravished with his society, that she would needs build a little cell for herself hard by him. In process of time this lady died, and by her last will left Christ to be the heir, and Dunstan the executor of her estate. Enabled with the accession thereof, joined to his paternal possessions, which were very great, and now fallen into his hands, Dunstan erected the abbey of Glassenbury, and became himself first abbot thereof; *a title till his time unknown in England*^d.

A.D. 938.
15 Athel-
stani.

Ælfgyva
Dunstan's
bountiful
friend.

^c [Osbern, p. 97. n. That practice which caused such a scandal in the early church was but too frequent at this time in England. William of Malmesbury mentions a similar instance in the life of Aldhelm, p. 13. See also Wharton's note in the *Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 97.]

^d [Osbern, p. 100. In his Appeal of Injured Innocence, Fuller says, "I request such as have my Church-History to delete these words; for I profess I know not by what casualty these words crept

"into my book, contrary to my intent."

This is an instance in which second thoughts are *not* best. Nor would Fuller have made this observation, had he referred to the sources from which he probably derived the history of St. Dunstan. The passage from which he gathered his information occurs in Osbern's life of that saint, and is as follows: "Ea tempestate (that is, the time here noticed by Fuller,) Glastonia regalibus stipendiis addicta, monasticæ religionis penitus

A. D. 939.
16 Æthel-
stani.

He built also and endowed many other monasteries, filling them with Benedictine monks, who began now to swarm in England, more than maggots in a hot May, so incredible was their increase.

A. D. 940.
Recalled to
court, and
rebanished
thence.

17. After the death of king Æthelstan, Dunstan was recalled to court in the reign of king Edmund, Æthelstan's brother, and flourished for a time in great favour^c. But who would build on the brittle bottom of princes' love? Soon after he falls into the king's disfavour; the old crime, of being a magician (and a wanton with women to boot) being laid to his charge. Surely Dunstan by looking on his own furnace might learn thence there was no smoke but some fire: either he was dishonest or indiscreet, which gave the groundwork to their general suspicion. Hereupon he is rebanished the court, and returned to his desired cell at Glassenbury; but

"ignara. Nondum enim in
"Anglia communis ratio vitæ
"colebatur; non usus dese-
"rendi proprias voluntates ho-
"minibus affectabatur. *Abbatis*
"nomen vix quispiam audierat.
"Conventus monachorum non
"satis quisquam viderat." *Angl.*
Sacr. II. 91. Bridferth also in
his life of St. Dunstan styles
him, *primus Abbas Anglicæ*
nationis. *Ib.* p. 101. n.

Those religious houses which Dunstan and Edgar turned into monastic institutions were originally convents for the secular or married clergy, similar to the collegiate churches of the present day, and restricted pretty much by the same rules. The monastic life, though at this time not altogether unknown, was unusual in England.

For as the same writer informs us, sometimes individuals, sometimes a small company, who embraced the resolution of leading solitary lives, quitted their country, and spent their lives in seclusion, whenever an opportunity offered itself. This custom prevailed to a great extent in Ireland; many of the most learned and religious men of that nation left their country, and settled at Glastonbury, a place suitable to such a design, as secluded from the busy hum of men, and consecrated by the evangelical labours of their renowned saint, St. Patrick.]

^c [See *Flor. Wigorn.*, and the *Saxon Chron.* in an. 940, and *Malsb.* f. 29.]

within three days was solemnly brought back again to court, if the ensuing story may be believed^e.

A. D. 941.
1 Edmundi.

18. King Edmund was in an eager pursuit of a buck, on the top of a steep rock, whence no descent but destruction^f. Down falls the deer, and dogs after him, and are dashed to pieces. The king follows in full speed on an unruly horse, whom he could not rein, and is on the brink of the precipice: yet his prayers prove swifter than his horse, he but ran, whilst they did fly to heaven. He is sensible of his sin in banishing Dunstan, confesseth it with sorrow, vows amendment, promiseth to restore and prefer him. Instantly the horse stops in his full career, and his rider is wonderfully preserved.

King Edmund his
miraculous
deliverance.

19. Thus far a strong faith may believe of the story: but it must be a wild one which gives credit to the remainder. *Cervus et canes reviviscunt*^g, saith the impudent monk, "the deer and dogs revive again." I remember not in scripture that God ever revived a brute beast; partly because such mean subjects are beneath the majesty of a miracle, and partly because (as the apostle saith) *brute beasts are made to be taken and destroyed*^h. Well then might the monk have knocked off when he had done well, in saving the man and horse, and might have left the dogs and deer to have remained dead on the place; the deer especially, were it but to make venison pasties, to feast the courtiers at the solemnizing of their lord and master's so miraculous deliverance.

Fie for
shame
lying monk.

^e [Yet Dunstan subscribed a charter, confirmed by king Æthelstan, in the year 940. Twysden x. Script. p. 2220.]

^f [Osbern, p. 100.]

FULLER, VOL. I.

^g Roff. Histor. Matt. West. [an. 940.] J. Capgrave, [Legend. f. 90. b.] Osbernus, [p. 100.]

^h 2 Pet. ii. 12.

Z

A. D. 946.
 i Edredi.

King
 Edred a
 high patron
 of Dunstan.

20. Dunstan returning to court, was in higher favour than ever beforeⁱ. Nor was his interest any whit abated by the untimely death of king Edmund, (slain by one Leof a thief,) seeing his brother Edred, succeeding to the crown, continued and increased his kindness to him. Under him Dunstan was the do-all at court, being the king's treasurer, chancellor, councillor, confessor, all things. Bishoprics were bountifully proffered him, pick and choose where he please; but none were honoured with his acceptance. Whether because he accounted himself too high for the place, and would not stoop to the employment, or because he esteemed the place too high for him, unable conscientiously to discharge it in the midst of so many avocations. Meantime monasteries were everywhere erected, (king Edred devoutly resigning all his treasure to Dunstan's disposal,) secular priests being thrust out of their convents, and monks substituted in their rooms.

A. D. 955.
 i Edwii.
 But king
 Edwy his
 professed
 enemy.

21. But after Edred's death the case was altered with Dunstan falling into disgrace with king Edwy his successor^j. This king on his coronation day was said to be incestuously embracing both mother and daughter, when Dunstan boldly coming into his bed-chamber, after bitter reproofs, stoutly fetched him thence, and brought him forth into the company of his noblemen. An heroic act, if true, done with a John Baptist spirit: and no wonder if Herod and Herodias, I mean this incestuous king and his con-

ⁱ [Flor. Wigorn. in an. 946. ^j [Flor. in anno. Malm. f. Malms. De Gestis Reg. f. 30. 30.]
 Osbern, p. 102.]

cubines, were highly offended with Dunstan for the same^k. A. D. 955.
1 Edwii.

22. But good men and grave authors give no belief herein, conceiving king Edwy (how bad soever characterized by the monks his malicious enemies) to have been a worthy prince. In witness whereof they produce the words of Henry Huntingdon, a learned man, but no monk, thus describing him:

^k [This rudeness of St. Dunstan, although mentioned by Malmsbury, upon Osbern's authority, was probably the invention of a later age, since it has not been noticed either by the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Ingulph, or Florence of Worcester. The offence of Edwy rather consisted in a contempt of his nobility, and in deserting their society for that of his wife, even on the day of his coronation. His specific crime is not very intelligibly expressed either in Osbern or Malmsbury, the latter charging the king, *proxime cognatam invadens uxorem ejus forma deperibat, sapientum consilia fastidiens*. This is so interpreted by later writers, as if Edwy had been guilty of adultery with the wife of one of his relations. Later chroniclers, as might be expected, have added to the tale, but hardly any two are consistent with each other. The real reason for Edwy's ill repute among the monkish writers, was, as Fuller has justly observed, his favour to the secular clergy, and his opposition

to Dunstan, their violent and unscrupulous advocate. Hear Malmsbury's complaints.

"Miserrimis satellitibus subnexus, omnes in tota Anglia monastici ordinis homines prius nudatos facultatum auxilio, post etiam deportatos exilio calamitatibus indignis affecit. Ipsum Dunstanum monachorum principem in Flandriam propellit. Ea tempestate facies monachorum fœda et miserabilis erat. Nam et Malmsburiense cœnobium plusquam ducentis septuaginta annis a monachis inhabitatum, clericorum stabulum fecit." De Gest. f. 30. See also Osbern, 105.

To the passage from Henry of Huntingdon in favour of Edwy, mentioned in the text, may be added another from Ethelwerd, living at the time, who speaks of him as generally beloved (*per regnum amandus*). Some ingenious remarks upon the subject will be found in Wharton's notes to Osbern's life of Dunstan, published in the Angl. Sacr. II. 105, 106.]

A. D. 955.
 1 Edwii.

*Edwi non illaudabiliter
 regni infulam tenuit*¹.

“ Edwy was not undeserving
 “ of praise in managing the sceptre of this land.”

Et rursus :

And again :

*Edwi rex, anno regni sui
 quinto, cum in principio
 regnum ejus decentissime
 floreret, prospera et læta-
 bunda exordia mors imma-
 tura perrupit*^m.

“ King Edwy in the fifth year
 “ of his reign, when his kingdom
 “ began at first most decently to
 “ flourish, had his prosperous and
 “ pleasant beginnings broken off
 “ with untimely death.”

This testimony considered, makes many men think better of king Edwy, and worse of Dunstan, as guilty of some uncivil intrusion into the king's chamber, for which he justly incurred his royal displeasure.

A. D. 956.
 He banish-
 eth Dun-
 stan, and
 dieth
 heart-
 broken
 with grief.

23. Hereupon Dunstan is banished by king Edwy, not as before from England to England, from the court to his cell at Glassenbury, but is utterly expelled the kingdom, and flieth into Flandersⁿ. Where his friends say that his fame prepared his welcome, and the governor of Gaunt most solemnly entertained him. Meantime all the monks in England of Dunstan's plantation were rooted up, and secular priests set in their places. But soon after happened many commotions in England, especially in Mercia and Northumberland. The monks which write the story of these rebellions conceive it unfit to impart to posterity the cause thereof, which makes wise men to suspect that Dunstan, (who could blow coals elsewhere as well as in his furnace,) though at distance, virtually (or rather viciously present) had a

¹ Hist. f. 204.

^m [Ibid. See also Ethelwerd, f. 483.]

ⁿ [Osbern, p. 106.]

^o [Flor. Wigorn, a. 957.]

finger, yea, a hand therein. Heart-broken with these rebellions, King Edwy died in the flower of his age^o. A. D. 959.
Edgar.

24. Edgar succeeds him, and recalls Dunstan Dunstan
recalled by

^o [The reign of king Edwy the Beautiful, as he was called (see Ethelwerd, f. 483.), is narrated with so much partiality by the chroniclers, who generally follow Florence of Worcester with much servility, that it is very difficult to arrive at any distinct understanding of this king's character and conduct. The earliest and most respectable annalists, such as Florence and the Saxon Chron., do not mention the affair with Dunstan at all. The former merely says, "quoniam in commisso regimine insipienter egit a Mercensibus et Northimbrensibus contemptus relinquitur et suus germanus Clito Eadgarus ab eis rex eligitur." The meaning of this term "insipienter" is well explained by William of Malmesbury, f. 30. "Ea tempestate facies *Monachorum* foeda et miserabilis erat. Nam et Malmesburiense cœnobium plusquam ducentis septuaginta annis a monachis inhabitatum clericorum *stabulum* fecit." And a little below he plainly intimates that this severe treatment of the monks was the occasion of Edwy's misfortunes—"luit ille pœnas ausus temerarii," &c. (Cf. De Pontif. V. 365. Hist. Ramesien. in Gale, I. 393.)—Edwy succeeded to the kingdom 955; drove Dunstan into banishment the next year—

the year after, 957, the Mercians and Northumbrians revolt—and he died early in 959. His brother Edgar, being only fourteen, was chosen king by the Mercians in 957, and Dunstan was immediately recalled, and appointed the same year to the see of Worcester. But the Northumbrians had in the previous reigns been in a continual state of revolt, and therefore their rebellion is no proof of Edwy's bad conduct. His brother Edgar, though guilty of some of the worst of vices, idolatry, debauchery, and cruelty, (see Malmesbury, f. 33, and particularly the Saxon Chron. a. 957.) is extolled to an excessive degree by the same writers. The reason is plain,—“abjectis ex cœnobiis clericorum neniis ad laudem Creatoris summi monachorum et sanctimonialium catervas, et plusquam 40 monasteria cum eis constitui jussit.” Flor. an. 959. There are some very judicious observations upon this subject, and this king's reign, in Carte's Hist. I. 324. All the monkish writers, when mentioning this dispute of Dunstan with the king, take occasion to observe that their own monastery was spoiled by the king; when it is doubtful whether more than two existed at that time in England, one at Glastenbury, the other at Abingdon. See Wharton's A. S. II. 105, and Parker's Antiq. p. 121.]

home, receiving him with all possible affection^o.
1. D. 959. Edgari. Yea now Dunstan's stomach was come down, and
ng Edgar, id takes double shopric. he could digest a bishopric, which his abstemiousness formerly refused. And one bishopric drew down another, Worcester and London^p, not successively, but both abreast, went down his conscience. Yea, never age afforded more pluralist bishops. In this king's reign Leofwine held Lincoln and Leicester^q; Oswald (a great monk-monger, of whom hereafter) held York and Worcester; and Ealdulf^r, his successor in both churches, did the like, pardoned, yea praised for the same: though Wulstan (because no favourer of monks) is reproved for the like plurality. Thus two men, though doing the same thing, do not the same thing. Bigamy of bishoprics goes by favour; and it is condemnable in one, what is commendable in another. Odo Severus, archbishop of Canterbury, being ceremoniously to consecrate Dunstan bishop of Worcester, used all the formalities fashionable at the consecration of an archbishop^s: and being reproved for the same, he answered for himself, that he foresaw that Dunstan instantly after his death would be archbishop of Canterbury. And therefore (a compendious way to spare pains) he only by a provident prolepsis antedated his consecration. Surely, whosoever had seen the decrepit age of Odo, the affection of king Edgar to Dunstan, the affection of Dunstan to dignity,

^o [Flor. Wigorn. in an. Malm. f. 30. Osbern, p. 107.]

^p [The first in 957, the other in 958. See Flor. Wigorn. an. 957. Osbern, p. 108. In the same way he afterwards held Canterbury and Roches-

ter. Osbern, p. 110.]

^q Parker's Antiq. Britan. p. 124.

^r [Sax. Chron. a. 992.]

^s [Osbern, p. 107.] Antiq. Britan. ibidem.

needed no extraordinary prophetic spirit to presage that (on the supposition of Dunstan's surviving him) ^{A. D. 959.} ^{2 Edgari.} he should succeed him in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

25. Yea king Edgar was so wholly Dunstanized, ^{Oswald's law to eject secular priests.} that he gave over his soul, body, and estate to be ordered by him and two more, (then the triumvirate who ruled England,) namely, Æthelwold bishop of Winchester^t, and Oswald bishop of Worcester. This Oswald was the man who procured by the king's authority the ejection of all secular priests out of Worcester, and the placing of monks in their room^v: which act was called Oswald's law in that age. They

^t [Eadmer. vit. Dunst. p. 219.]

^v [As Æthelwold, another of the bishops, a pupil of Dunstan, and promoted by his interests, expelled by the same means the regular clergy out of the diocese of Winton. He succeeded Brihtelm 963; his compeer Oswald was promoted to Worcester 960. See Florent. Wigorn. sub annis. The same writer tells us that Æthelwold was the most active in urging the king to this conduct.—“Cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit.”—This is confirmed by the Saxon Chron., who dates his expulsion of the clergy in the second year after his consecration. Not only did this prelate build and endow houses for monks in his diocese, but he also obtained from king Edgar a grant of such as had been ruined and devastated by the Danes, which he repaired and endowed: among

the rest Ely and Peterborough. The confirmation of the charter of Peterborough, and its endowments by king Edgar, may be seen in the Saxon Chron. sub a. 963.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reform. I. 43, has quoted an *Insuperimus* of king Edgar's (Rot. Patent. 2. Hen. VIII. par. 1.), erecting the priory and convent of Worcester, which bears date a. 964. on St. Innocent's day. It rehearses that he did with the consent of his princes and gentry confirm and establish that priory; that he had erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty, the number of jubilee; and that the former incumbents should be for ever excluded, inasmuch as they had preferred, to the prejudice of their order and the ecclesiastical benefice, to adhere to their wives instead of serving God chastely and canonically.]

A. D. 959. might, if it pleased them, have styled it **Edgar's law**,
 2 **Edgari.** the legislative power being then more in the king
 than in the bishop. This Oswald's law afterwards
 enlarged itself over all England, secular priests being
 thrown out, and monks every where fixed in their
 rooms; till king Henry the Eighth his law outed
 Oswald's law, and ejected those drones out of their
 habitations.

Dunstan's
 disciplining
 of king
 Edgar.

26. King Edgar violated the chastity of a nun at
 Wilton^w. Dunstan getting notice thereof, refused
 at the king's request to give him his hand, because
 he had defiled a daughter of God, as he termed her.
 Edgar hereby made sensible of his sin, with sorrow
 confessed it; and Dunstan (now archbishop of Can-
 terbury^x) enjoined him with seven years' penance
 for the same. Monks endeavour to enforce a
 mock parallel betwixt David and Edgar, Nathan
 and Dunstan, herein. Sure I am, on David's pro-
 fession of his repentance, Nathan presently pro-
 nounced pardon; *The Lord also hath put away thy sin,*
thou shalt not die^y; consigning him to be punished
 by God the principal, (using an undutiful son,
 treacherous servants, and rebellious subjects to be
 the instruments thereof,) but imposing no voluntary
 penance, that David should by will-worship under-
 take on himself^z. All that I will add is this; If

^w [Osbern, p. 111. Malms.
 f. 33. Eadm. ib. p. 218. Par-
 ker's Antiq. Brit. p. 124.]

^x [Brithelm, who succeeded
 Alfsy in the see of Winton,
 a. 958, was the next year, on
 the death of Odo, elected arch-
 bishop of Canterbury: but
 being thought unfit for it, was
 ordered by the king to resign in

favour of Dunstan. Dunstan
 was at this time the king's tu-
 tor. See Flor. Wig. a. 959.]

^y 2 Sam. xii. 13.

^z [One part of the penance
 inflicted on the king by Dun-
 stan is very remarkable. He
 was to transcribe the holy scrip-
 tures, and order them to be
 kept throughout his kingdom.]

Dunstan did septenary penance to expiate every mortal sin (to use their own terms) he committed, ^{A.D. 969.}
^{12 Edgari.} he must have been a Methuselah, extremely aged, before the day of his death.

27. More commendable was Dunstan's carriage ^{And carriage to-}
 towards an English count, who lived incestuously ^{wards an}
 with his own kinswoman^a. Dunstan admonished ^{incestuous}
 him once, twice, thrice; nothing prevailed: where- ^{count.}
 upon he proceeded to excommunicate him. The
 count slighted his excommunication, conceiving his
 head too high for church-censures to reach it. King
 Edgar (falsely informed) desires Dunstan to absolve
 him, and is denied. Yea the pope sends to him to
 the same purpose, and Dunstan persists in his re-
 fusals^b. At last the count, conquered with Dunstan's
 constancy, and the sense of his own sin, came into a
 national council at Canterbury, where Dunstan sat
 president, (active therein to substitute monks in the
 places of secular priests,) on his bare feet, with a
 bundle of rods, tendering himself to Dunstan's chas-
 tisement. This wrought on Dunstan's mild nature,
 scarce refraining from tears; who presently absolved
 him.

28. Three things herein are remarkable: first, ^{Observa-}
 that bribes in the court of Rome may purchase a ^{tions there-}
 malefactor to be innocent; secondly, that the pope
 himself is not so infallible, but that his key may
 miss the lock, and he be mistaken in matter of ab-
 solution; thirdly, that men ought not so with blind
 obedience to obey his pretended holiness, but that if

" *Sanctas conscriberet scriptu-*
ras, per omnes fines imperii
sui populis custodiendas man-
daret." Osbern, p. 111.]

^a [Eadmer, ib. p. 215.]

^b Osbern. in vita Dunstani.
 [No such passage occurs in
 this author.]

A.D. 969. (with Dunstan here) they see just cause to the contrary, it is no mortal sin to disobey his commands.

12 Edgari.

Edgar's canons why by us here related.

29. The apprenticeship of Edgar's penance long since expired, he flourished in all monarchical lustre: sole founder of many, co-founder of more, benefactor to most abbeys in England. And as he gave new cases to most monasteries, (repairing their outward buildings,) so he gave new linings to all, substituting monks instead of the secular priests, whom he expelled^c. Many ecclesiastical canons were by him ordained, which at large are presented in sir Henry Spelman, and which I have neither list nor leisure to recount in this my history. Our women have a proverb; "It is a sad burden to carry a dead man's "child:" and surely an historian hath no heart to take much pains (which herein are pains indeed) to exemplify dead canons, dead and buried long since, as most relating to monkery; this age, wherein we live, being little fond of antiquity, to know those things which were antiquated so many years since.

Edgar a most triumphant king.

30. Now though the devotion of king Edgar may be condemned to be biassed to superstition, yet because the sincerity of his heart sought to advance God's honour, according to the light in those dark days, he appears one of the most puissant princes that ever England enjoyed, both in church and commonwealth. I have read in a most fair and authentic gilded manuscript^d, wherein he styleth himself God's vicar in England, for the ordering ecclesiastical matters: a title which at this day the pope will hardly vouchsafe to any Christian princes. His reign was

^c [He gave orders for more Flor. Wigorn. p. 159.]

than forty monasteries to be built for the use of the monks. ^d Extant in the precious library of sir Thomas Cotton.

blessed with peace and prosperity, both by land and sea; insomuch that in a royal frolic eight petty kings rowed him over the river Dee near to Chester, namely, five princes of Wales, whereof Hoel-Dha was the principal, Kened king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, and Mac-cus, a great sea-robber, who may pass for the prince of pirates^e.

A. D. 969.
12 Edgari.

31. This Hoel-Dha, contemporary with king Edgari^f, was he that held a national council for all Wales at a place called Ty-guin, or the Whitehouse, because built of white hurdles, to make it more beautiful, regulated after this manner. Out of every hundred in Wales he chose six laymen, with whom he joined all the eminent ecclesiastical persons (accounted an hundred and forty) in his dominions. Out of those he chose eleven laymen and one clergyman, (but such a one as who alone by himself might pass virtually for eleven,) Blangoridus by name, to enact what laws they pleased, which after the impression of royal assent upon them, should be observed by that nation. One might suspect this council, thus overpowered with laics therein, which pinch on the priests' side; whereas we find the canons therein wholly made in favour of the clergy: enacting this among the rest, that the presence of a priest and a judge constitute a legal court, as the two persons only in the quorum thereof.

A. D. 970.
A national
council in
Wales.

32. But methinks the laws therein enacted (which a learned antiquary presents us at large^g) fall far

The merry
laws made
therein.

^e [Flor. Wigorn. a. 973. Malm. f. 31. "Maccus pluri-marum rex insularum," as Florence describes him; that is, king of Man and the Hebrides.]

^f [Yet according to Simeon

of Durham he died in 951. See also Wharton's A. S. II. p. xxxii.]

^g Spelman's Concil. I. 411. [Wilkins, I. 208, and IV. 769. sq.]

A. D. 970. short of the gravity of a council, except any will excuse it from the age thereof; what we count light and trivial, might be esteemed serious and solid in those days. Besides, the laws discover in them a conceited affectation of the number of three. In three cases a wife may legally leave her husband: first, if he hath a leprosy; secondly, if he hath a stinking breath; thirdly, and if he be unable to give her due benevolence. In three cases it was lawful for a man to kiss his neighbour's wife: first, at a banquet; secondly, at the Welsh play called *Guare-raffau*; and thirdly, when he comes from a far journey, by way of salutation. If a man and his wife were to part asunder, they were to divide their goods betwixt them so, that she was to have the sheep, he the hogs, she the milk and milk-vessels, with all the dishes save one, he all the beer and barrels, with the axe, saw, &c.

A. D. 971.
Confirmed
by the
pope.

33. But how silly soever these canons seem to our modern critics, they were then conceived of such weight and worth, that king Hoel-Dha with his archbishop of St. David's, the bishops of Bangor, Landaff, and St. Asaph, are said to have taken a journey to Rome, and procured the pope's confirmation to them. Nor find I ought else of this synod, save that the close thereof presents us with a list of seven episcopal seats then in Wales: 1. St. David's, 2. Ismael, 3. Degeman, 4. Ussyllld, 5. Teilaw, 6. Theulydawg, 7. Genau^g. I am not Welshman enough to point at these places, and to shew you where they be at this day, which we leave to some skilful antiquary of their own nation. Only we find that whereas the

^g Query whether Bangor, Landaff, and St. Asaph be not comprised under these.

churches were burdened with some payments out of them, two of the bishops' sees (Ussyllð and Genau) were freed from the same. And this satisfactory reason is rendered of their exemption, *quia terris carent*, because they had no lands belonging unto them.

34. King Edgar was peaceably gathered to his fathers^h, leaving his crown to Edward his son, and his son (because under age) to the tuition of Dunstan. In this king's reign three councils were successively called, to determine the differences between monks and secular priests¹. The first was at Winchester, where the priests being outed of their convents, earnestly pressed for restitution, and sought by arguments to clear their innocence, and prove their title to their ancient possessions. The council seemed somewhat inclinable to favour unto them; when presently a voice, as coming from a crucifix behind Dunstan, is reported to be heard, saying,

<i>Absit hoc ut fiat, absit</i>	" God forbid it should be done,
<i>hoc ut fiat; judicastis bene,</i>	" God forbid it should be done;
<i>mutaretis non bene^k.</i>	" ye have judged it well, and
	" should change it ill."

Whether these words were spoken in Latin or English, authors leave us unresolved. Monks equal this (for the truth thereof) to the *still small voice* to Elijah¹, whilst others suspect some forgery; the rather, because it is reported to come as from a crucifix: they fear some secret falsehood in the fountain, because visible superstition was the cistern

^h [Flor. in an. Osbern, p. 112. Malm. f. 33. b.] from Rudborn's Hist. Wintoniens. in Wharton's Angl.

ⁱ [See Wilkins' Conc. I. 263.] Sac. I. 217.]
¹ 1 Kings xix. 12.

^k [Parker De Antiq. p. 126.]

A.D. 971.
14 Edgari.

A.D. 975.
A council
at Winchester
with a
miraculous
voice in it.

A. D. 977. thereof. However, this voice proved for the present
 3 Edvardi the casting voice to the secular priests, who thereby
 Martyria. were overborne in their cause, and so was the council
 dissolved.

Secular 35. Yet still the secular priests did struggle, re-
 priests fusing to be finally concluded with this transient
 strive still. airy oracle. *To the law and to the testimony ; if they
 speak not according to this word, &c.^m* They had no
 warrant to rely on such a vocal decision, from which
 they appealed to the scripture itself. A second
 council is called at Kyrtylunge, (now Katlage in
 Cambridgeshire, the barony of the right honourable
 the lord North,) but nothing to purpose effected
 therein°. Dunstan, say the monks, still answered
 his name, that is, dun, a rocky mountain, and stain,
 a stone^p, (but whether a precious stone, or a rock of
 offence, let others decide,) persisting unmovable in
 his resolution ; nor was any thing performed in this
 council, but that by the authority thereof people
 were sent on pilgrimage to St. Mary at Abingdon.

A porten- 36. The same year a third council was called, at
 tous coun- Caln in Wiltshire^q. Hither repaired priests and
 cil at Caln. monks, with their full forces, to try the last con-
 clusion in the controversy betwixt them. The
 former, next the equity of the cause, relied most on
 the ability of their champion, one Beornelm, a Scot-
 tish bishop, who with no less eloquence than strength,
 with scripture and reason defended their cause.
 When behold, on a sudden the beams brake in the
 room where they were assembled, and most of the

^m Isa. viii. 20.

^o [Flor. Wig. a. 977. Malm. f. 33. Gibson thinks it the same as Kyrtington in Oxfordshire.]

^p “ [Dunstanus quod petræ
 “ firmitatem sonat.” Osbern,
 p. 91. Compare also p. 103.]
^q [Flor. Wig. l. l. See Wil-
 kins, *ibid.*]

secular priests were slain, and buried under the ruins thereof. All were affrighted, many maimed; A.D. 977. 3 Edvardi Martyris. only the place whereon Dunstan sat either (as some say) remained firm, or fell in such sort, that the timber (the sword to kill others) proved the shield to preserve him from danger.

37. Some behold this story as a notable untruth: Several censures on this sad accident. others suspect the Devil therein, not for a liar, but a murderer, and this massacre procured by compact with him: a third sort conceived that Dunstan, who had so much of a smith, had here something of a carpenter in him, and some device used by him about pinning and propping of the room. It renders it the more suspicious, because he dissuaded king Edward from being present there, pretending his want of age; though he was present in the last council, and surely he was never the younger for living some months since the same assembly. If truly performed, Dunstan appears happier herein than Samson himself, who could not so sever his foes, but both must die together. Sure I am, no ingenuous papist nowadays will make any uncharitable inference from such an accident: especially since the fall of Black friars, 1623, enough to make all good men turn the censuring of others into an humble silence, and pious adoring of Divine providence.

38. But the monks made great advantage of this Seculars outed, and monks advanced. accident, conceiving that heaven had confirmed their cause, as lately by word at Winchester, so now by work in this council at Caln. Hereupon secular priests are every where outed, and monks substituted in their room. Indeed these latter in civil respect were beheld as more beneficial to their con-

A.D. 977. vents; because secular priests did marry, and at
 3 Edvardi their deaths did *condere testamenta*, "make their
 Martyris. "wills," and bequeathed their goods to their wives
 and children; whilst monks, having no issue (which
 they durst own), made their monastery heir of all
 they had. It was also objected against the priests,
 that by their looseness and laziness, left at large in
 their lives, they had caused the general declination
 of piety at this time; whilst it was presumed of the
 monks, that by the strict rules of observance to
 which they were tied, they would repair the ruins of
 religion in all places.

Priests
 hardly
 dealt with.

39. It appears not what provision was made for
 these priests when ejected; and they seem to have
 had hard measure to be dispossessed of their civil
 right. Except any will say it was no injury to them
 to lose their places so soon, but a great favour that
 they enjoyed them so long, living hitherto on the
 free bounty of their founders, and now at the full
 dispose of the church and state. Little can be said
 in excuse of the priests, and less in commendation of
 the monks; who though they swept clean at the
 first, as new besoms, yet afterwards left more dust
 behind them of their own bringing in than their
 predecessors had done. Thus the hive of the church
 was no whit bettered by putting out drones and
 placing wasps in their room. Yea, whereas formerly
 corruptions came into the church at the wicket, now
 the broad gates were opened for their entrance;
 monkery making the way for ignorance and super-
 stition to overspread the whole world^r.

^r The effects of Dunstan's severity to the secular clergy they were completely expelled from such cities as Worcester, were probably very great, since Winchester, and the like—not

40. Another humour of the former age (to make one digression for all) still continued and increased, venting itself in the fair foundations and stately structures of so many monasteries^s. So that one beholding their greatness, being corrivals with some towns in receipt and extent, would admire that they could be so neat; and considering their neatness, must wonder they could be so great; and lastly, accounting their number, will make all three the object of his amazement. Especially, seeing many of these were founded in the Saxon heptarchy, when seven kings put together did spell but one in effect. So that it may seem a miracle what invisible Indies those petty princes were masters of, building such structures which impoverish posterity to repair them. For although some of these monasteries were the fruit of many ages, long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose parcels and additions met at last in some tolerable uniformity; yet most of them were begun and finished, absolute and entire, by one founder alone. And although we allow that in those days artificers were procured, and materials purchased at easy rates, yet there being then scarceness of coin, (as a little money would then buy much ware, so much ware must first in exchange be given to provide that little money,) all things being audited proportionably, the wonder still remains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those designs are undertaken and pursued which proceed from blind zeal: every finger being more than an

A. D. 977.
4 Edvardi
Martyris.

The prodigious prodigality in building and endowing of abbeys.

always by open, frequently by underhand means. The clergy of Winchester, when they had the option of conforming to the rules of the monastic institution, or deserting their cures, prefer-

red the latter alternative. "Maggis vitam mollem elegissent," says Malmsbury, "tunc tota insula incertis vagabantur sedibus." *De Gestis Reg. f. 31. b.*

^s [Malmsb. f. 31.]

A. D. 977.
 4 Edwardi
 Martyris.

hand to build, when they thought merit was annexed to their performances. Oh! with what might and main did they mount their walls both day and night; erroneously conceiving that their souls were advantaged to heaven, when taking the rise from the top of a steeple of their own erection^s.

Caution to
 our age.

41. But it will not be amiss to mind our forgetful age, that, seeing devotion (now better informed), long sithence hath desisted to express itself in such pompous buildings, she must find some other means and manner to evidence and declare her sincerity. Except any will say that there is less heart required where more light is granted; and that our practice of piety should be diminished, because our knowledge thereof is increased. God, no doubt, doth justly expect that religion should testify her thankfulness to him by some eminent way and works: and where the fountain of piety is full, it will find itself a vent to flow in, though not through the former channels of superstition.

A. D. 978.
 King Edward murdered, alias, martyred.

42. King Edward went to give his mother-in-law at Corfe-castle a respectable visit, when by her contrivance he was barbarously murdered, so to pave the way for her son Æthelred his succession to the crown. But king Edward, by losing his life, got the title of a martyr, so constantly called in our chronicles. Take the term in a large acception, otherwise restrictively it signifies such an one as suffers for the testimony of the truth. But, seeing this Edward was cruelly murdered, and is said after death to work miracles, let him, by the courtesy of the church, pass

^s [This is certainly not true as applied to the age when monasteries were erected. Though modern selfishness may feel in-

terested in cloaking the scantiness of its zeal under such misrepresentations.

for a martyr, not knowing any act or order to the contrary, to deny such a title unto him^t.

A. D. 978.
6 Edvardi
Martyris.

^t [On the death of Edgar there was a contention among the nobles about a successor; some supporting the claims of Æthelred, and others those of Edward, but by the power of Dunstan it was determined in favour of the latter (Flor. Wigorn. a. 975.) Immediately on the death of his father, through the influence of his mother-in-law and some of the nobles, the regular clergy were recalled; this produced two parties in the state, thus described by Ingulf: "Cujus [Edwardi] sancta simplicitate et innocentia tam abusa est factio tyrannorum, per reginæ favorem et potentiam præcipue roborata, quod per Merciam monachis de quibusdam monasteriis ejectis clerici sunt inducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ distribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati eos contra monachos defensarent. Tunc de monasterio Eveshamensi monachis expulsis clerici fuerunt introducti, terræque tyranni de terris ecclesiæ præmiati sunt. Quibus regina novercali nequitia stans cum clericis in regis opprobrium favebat, cum monachis autem rex et sancti episcopi persistebant, sed tyranni fulti reginæ favore et potentia super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est." f. 506. See Flor. a. 975. After a brief reign of four years this

king came to an untimely end, hunting near Corfe-castle, as the monkish writers did not scruple to affirm, by the hands of his step-mother. But the Saxon annalist, who was either contemporary with the fact, or transcribed his narrative from one who was, mentions nothing of his mother's participation in the crime; and Hen. of Huntingdon, whose testimony is valuable as an unprejudiced writer, speaks thus of his death: "occisus est *proditione gentis suæ*."—And then introduces the subsequent tale, as a dubious report: "dicitur autem quod noverca ejus mater, &c." Hist. f. 204. But though Flor. of Wigorn. and Ingulf attribute his death to the instigation of Alflæda, they give not the slightest foundation for supposing that Æthelred "puer decem annorum" (Ingulf l. i.) could at all participate in it. The progress of falsehood, in this instance, may be traced with some instruction, as to the credit of the monkish writers. Ingulf says that Dunstan, upon consecrating Æthelred, addressed him after the ceremony thus; "quia ascendisti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua;"—which version of the tale Malmsbury, who wrote but very few years after, thus enlarges on; "quia," inquit, per mortem fratris tui aspirasti ad regnum audi verbum,"—and speaks afterwards and before of his sharing

A.D. 978. 43. Æthelred, Edward's half-brother, succeeded
1 Æthelred, cognom. the Unready. him in the throne^v. One with whom Dunstan had
King Æthelred prognosticated unsuccessful. a quarrel from his cradle, because, when an infant, he left more water in the font than he found there at his baptizing. Happy Dunstan himself, if guilty of no greater fault, which could be no sin (nor properly a slovenness) in an infant, if he did as an infant! Yet from such his addition, Dunstan prognosticated an inundation of Danes would ensue in this island: which accordingly came to pass. But Æthelred is more to be condemned for the blood he shed when a man; it being vehemently suspected that he was accessory with his mother to the murdering of his brother Edward.

A.D. 987. 44. But Dunstan survived not to see his prediction
Dunstan's corpse wrongfully claimed by the convent of Glassenbury. take effect, for he was happily prevented by death, and buried on the south side of the high altar in the church of Canterbury: where his tomb was famous for some time, till Thomas Becket eclipsed the same; seeing saints, like new besoms, sweep clean at the first, and afterwards are clean swept out, by newer saints which succeed them. Yea, Dunstan's grave grew so obscure at Canterbury, that the monks of Glassenbury taking heart thereat, and advantaged by John Capgrave's report, that anno 1012 Dunstan's corpse were translated thither, pretended his burial, and built him a shrine in their convent^w. Men and

in, and conniving at, the crime: which in a boy of scarce ten years of age is so ridiculous, and so perverse a corruption of his authorities, that no one but a monk, anxious to blacken the supporters of the married clergy, would ever have imagined.]

^v [Flor. Wigorn. a. 978. Will. of Malmsbury, f. 34. b.]

^w [The monks of Glastonbury laid claim to the body of St. Dunstan three centuries before Capgrave wrote. About fifty years after the death of Dunstan they pretended that some of their body had been

money met at Glassenbury on this mistake; and their convent got more by this eight foot length of ground, (the supposed tomb of Dunstan,) than eight hundred acres of the best land they possessed elsewhere. Whereupon William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, to try the truth, and to prevent further fraud herein, caused a solemn search to be made in the cathedral of Canterbury after Dunstan's corpse, in the place tradition reported him to be interred.

45. Four of the friars, fittest for the work, to wit, ^{A night} hue-and-

deputed to take charge of Canterbury, which had been deserted on the murder of St. Elphegus by the Danes. They pretended that in this interval the body of Dunstan was removed to Glastonbury, and an abbot of that monastery substituted in his room. On this occasion Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, who had witnessed the translation of Dunstan's body to the new church at Canterbury, undertaken by the order of archbishop Lanfranc, addressed a letter to the monks of Glastonbury, explaining these circumstances, and shewing the impossibility of such a theft having ever been committed. Referring to the exhumation of Dunstan's body, with all its appropriate ornaments, which he had himself witnessed, he asks, How was it possible for the monks to procure a body habited like the corpse of the archbishop; with its mitre, pall, pins, and shoes (infulatum, palliatum, spindalatum, et sandaliis calciatum)? Especially the pall, which could only be procured from Rome,

and was never granted to any abbot of Glastonbury. Besides that the corpse was buried in the middle of the quire, close to the steps of the high altar, in a leaden coffin at a very great depth, as was formerly the custom with the Angli. He then addresses them with these remarkable words: "*Ossa itaque quibus onerastis imaginem nostri Redemptoris, ne ipse nobis indignetur, nostro consilio auferetis. Satis enim habet in se unde honoretur, nec opus est ut sanctitas ei aut ex ossibus mortuorum aut aliunde cumulatur.*" p. 226. (See this letter in Wharton's Ang. Sac. II. 222.)

Notwithstanding, the monks of Glastonbury, as it appears, would not forego their claims. For as late as the year 1508 a scrutiny was made for the body of St. Dunstan by order of William Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury. The result was such as is here detailed by Fuller. The papers relative to this search are also printed by Wharton, ib. p. 227—233.]

A.D. 987.
10 Ethel-
redi.

cry made
after his
corse.

of stronger bodies than brains, undertook to make this scrutiny, anno 1508, the 22nd of April. Great caution was used that all should be done *semotis laicis*, "no laymen being present," whether because their eyes were too profane to behold so holy an object, or too prying to discover the default, if the search succeeded not. In the night they so plied their work, that ere morning they discovered Dunstan's coffin, and rested the day following from more digging; as well they might, having taken so much pains, and gained so much profit by their endeavours.

Discovered,
with the
manner of
the inter-
ment there-
of.

46. Next night they on afresh; and, with main force, plucked up the ponderous coffin upon the pavement. A coffin built (as one may say) three stories high: the outermost of wood (but also made iron with the multitude of nails therein); within that another of plain lead; within that a third of wrought lead, wherein the bones of Dunstan lay in his pontifical vests, with this inscription in a plate, *Hic requiescit sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus*^x. Some lumps of flesh were found, which were said to

^x Archiva Eccles. Cant. exemplified by my good friend Mr. Will. Somner, in his Description of Cant. in Appendice Script. 12. [ed. 1640. The monks who were employed in the search, after labouring all night, found a leaden chest, in which the relics were deposited. This chest was inserted in the stonework of the vault: within it was another coffin of wood, covered within and without with lead, and thickly studded with cramps or nails. The whole was so firmly fast-

ened with ironwork, that they were compelled to defer their labours till the following night, and procure additional assistance for the completion of their task. Within the cases or coffins already described they found another shell, curiously wrought of lead (*astu quadam pulcherrime plicata*), within which was another almost consumed and worn away, and was supposed to have been the coffin in which St. Dunstan was originally buried. See Ang. Sac. II. 227.]

smell very sweet (the relics perchance of some spices which embalmed him), and all done in the presence of many worthy witnesses: amongst whom, Cuthbert Tunstal was one, then the archbishop's chancellor, afterward bishop of Durham. Hereupon the archbishop sent his mandate to the abbot and convent of Glassenbury, henceforward to desist from any jactitation of Dunstan's corpse, and abusing people with such pretences. A fault most frequent in that convent, challenging almost the monopoly of all English saints, witness that impudent lie of the rhythming monk, writing thus of Glassenbury;

Hic tumulus sanctus, hic scala poli celebratur;
Vix luit inferni pœnas hic qui tumulatur.

But, who is rather to be believed? St. Peter, that saith, *The righteous shall scarcely be saved*: or this monk, affirming that, "Whoso is buried at Glassenbury shall scarcely be damned."

47. After the death of Dunstan, their patron, the monks (not much befriended by king Æthelred) were cast out of the convent of Canterbury, or rather cast out themselves by their misdemeanours. *Man in honour hath no understanding, &c.*^a They waxed so wanton with possessing the places of secular priests, that a monk himself of Canterbury confesseth, *Monachi propter eorum insolentiam sedibus pulsi, et clerici introducti*^a. "Monks for their insolency were "driven out of their seats, and secular clerks brought "into their room." Thus was it often, in dock, out nettle, as they could strengthen their parties. For Siricius, the next archbishop of Canterbury, endea-

A. D. 987.
10 Æthelred.

A. D. 988.
Priests and monks alternately cast out.

^a 1 Pet. iv. 18.

^a Psal. xlix. 20.

^a Wil. Thorn cited by Ant.

Brit. p. 35. [Compare the printed Chronicle of Thorn, p. 1781. ed. Twysden.]

A. D. 989. 12 Ethelredi. voured the reexpulsion of the priests; which by Ælfricus his successor was effected.

The Danes
reinvade
England.

48. But soon after the Danes revenged the quarrel of the secular priests; and by a firm ejection outed the monks before they were well warm in their nests. Their fury fell more on convents than castles: whether, because the former were in that age more numerous, (castles afterwards were increased by William the Conqueror,) or because their prey and plunder was presumed the richest and easiest to be gotten; or because the Danes, then generally pagans, principally spited places of religion. A relapse is far more dangerous than a simple disease, as here it proved in the Danes. England for these last sixty years had been cured of, and cleared from their cruelty, which now returned more terrible than ever before.

A. D. 990. The unreadiness of king Ethelred advanced.

49. These Danes were also advantaged by the inactiveness of king Æthelred, therefore surnamed the Unready^b in our chronicles. The clock of his con-

^b [There seems but very little reason for fixing this epithet upon Æthelred; since the misfortunes of his reign ought rather to be attributed to a train of causes laid by his predecessors, of which he experienced the unhappy effects, than to any mismanagement of his own. The government of the counties by dukes had now become hereditary, in imitation of the great vassals of the crown in the French empire; the civil and the military powers were united in the same person. Alfred and his immediate successors foreseeing the

inconveniences which must inevitably follow from such a union, had wisely entrusted the civil judicature and command of the military forces in the different counties to distinct persons: but the distractions of the kingdom, and weakness of some persons, had caused the neglect of this wise provision. Another great cause of the inefficiency of his counsels was, the intermarriage of the nobles with the Danes, and the employment of officers of Danish extraction in the army; who making common cause with the enemy, frustrated by

sultations and executions was always set some hours too late, vainly striving with much industry to redress, what a little providence might seasonably have prevented. Now when this unready king met with the Danes, his over-ready enemies, no wonder if lamentable was the event thereof. The best thing I find recorded of this king Æthelred is, that in his days began the trial of causes by a jury of twelve men, to be chosen out of the vicinage, of like quality, as near as may be suited to the persons concerned therein. Hereby men have most fair play for their lives: and let it be the desires of all honest hearts, that whilst we pluck off the badges of all Norman slavery, we part not with the livery of our old Saxon liberty.

50. In this sad condition king Æthelred hearkened to the persuasions of Siric archbishop of Canterbury, and with ten thousand pounds purchased a present peace with the Danes^c. Indeed it was conformable to the calling of a churchman to procure peace,

A.D. 990.
14 Æthel-
redi.

togeth the
Danes.

A.D. 991.
A dear
peace
bought of
the Danes.

treachery any successful movements which might be made against them, both by perplexing the king's councils, and betraying his intentions. The consequence of all this was, that Æthelred knew not whom to trust. See Flor. Wigorn. a. 992-3, 998-9, 1007, 1009. An incidental remark in William of Malmsbury justifies this statement. "Veruntamen multa mihi cogitanti mirum videtur cur homo, ut a majoribus accepimus, neque multum fatuus neque multum ignavus, in tam tristi pallore tot calamitatum vitam

"consumpserit. Cujus rei causam si quis me interroget, non facile respondeam nisi ducum defectionem ex superbia regis prodeuntem." Malms. f. 35.

The same writer has touchingly described the conduct of the English, when the king commanded a general massacre of the Danes: "*fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque charissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeretur prodere et amplexus gladio deturbare.*" Malms. ib.]

^c [Malmsb. f. 35.]

A. D. 991. having not only scripture precepts therein, *seek peace*
 15 Ethel- *and pursue it*^d, but also precedents for the same,
 redi. when gracious Hezekiah with a present pacified
 Sennacherib to desist from invading him^e. How-
 ever, this archbishop generally suffered in his repu-
 tation, condemned of all for counselling of what was,
 first, dishonourable; that an entire nation, being at
 home in their own land, should purchase a peace
 from foreigners, fewer in number, and fetching their
 recruits and warlike provisions from a far country:
 let them be paid in due coin, not silver, but steel.
 Secondly, unprofitable; if once the Danes got but
 the trick to make the English bleed money to buy
 peace, they would never leave them till they had
 sucked out their heart-blood, and exhausted the
 whole treasure of the land.

Multitudes
 of monas-
 teries
 caused the
 Danish in-
 vasion.

51. Indeed one may safely affirm, that the multi-
 tude of monasteries invited the invasion, and facili-
 tated the conquest of the Danes over England, and
 that in a double respect; first, because not only the
 fruit of the king's exchequer (I mean ready money)
 was spent by this king his predecessors in founding
 of monasteries, but also the root thereof, his demesne
 lands, plucked up and parted with to endow the
 same; whereby the sinews of war were wanting, to
 make effectual opposition against foreign enemies.
 Secondly, because England had at this time more
 flesh or fat than bones, wherein the strength of a
 body consists, mo monks than military men. For
 instance, Holy-Island near Northumberland is suffi-
 ciently known, for the position thereof, an advan-
 tageous landing-place, especially in relation to Den-

^d Psalm xxxiv. 14.

^e 2 Kings xviii. 14.

mark^f. This place was presently forsaken of the A.D. 994.
fearful monks, frightened with the Danes their ap-^{18 Ethel-}
proach; and Aldhunus, the bishop thereof, removed ^{redi.}
his cathedral and convent to Durham, an inland
place of more safety. Now, had there been a castle
in the place of this monastery, to secure the same
with fighters instead of feeders, men of arms instead
of men of bellies therein, probably they might have
stopped the Danish invasion at the first inlet thereof.
England then as much wanting martial men, as since
it hath surfeited with too many of them^g.

52. The Danes, having received and spent their A.D. 995.
money, invaded England afresh, according to all wise ^{The cru-}
men's expectation. It is as easy for armed might to ^{elty of the}
pick a quarrel, as it is hard for naked innocence to ^{returning}
make resistance. The deluge of their cruelty over- ^{Danes.}
ran the realm^h; whose sword made no more dif-
ference betwixt the ages, sexes, and conditions of
people, than the fire which they cast on houses
made distinction in the timber thereof, whether it
was elm, oak, or ash; the fierceness of the one kill-
ing, the fury of the other consuming all it met with.
Indeed in some small skirmishes the English got the
better, but all to no purpose. There is a place in
Hertfordshire called Danes-end, where the inhabit-
ants by tradition report (uncertain of the exact date
thereof) that a fatal blow in a battle was given to
the Danes thereabouts. But alas! the Danes-end
was but Danes-beginning; they quickly recovered

^f [Florent. Wig. a. 994.]

^g Viz. in the wars between
York and Lancaster.

^h [Of the thirty-two *pagi* of

which England consisted, they
overran sixteen. Malmsb. f.
35.]

A.D. 995. themselves as many, and mighty in the field, and it
19 Ethel- seemed an endless end to endeavour their utter
redi. extirpation. Thus this century sets with little
mirth, and the next is likely to arise with more
mourning.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BALDWINO HAMEY, MEDICINÆ DOCTORI LITERATISSIMO, MECENATI SUO DIGNISSIMO^a.

Conqueruntur nostrates novissimo hoc decennio, novam rerum faciem indui, nec mutata solum, sed et inversu esse omnia. Hujus indicia plurima proferunt, tristia sane ac dolenda, dominos nimirum servis postpositos, dum alii e servis domini repente prodierint.

At, ad metamorphosin hanc probandam, argumentum suppetit mihi ipsi lætum et memoratu jucundum. Solent enim ægroti, si quando medicum adeant, manus afferre plenas, referre vacuas. At ipse e contra te sæpe accessi et æger et inops, decessi integer et bene nummatus. Quoties enim opus hoc nostrum radicitus exaruisset, si non imbre munificentiae tuæ fuisset irrigatum?



HIS century began (as children gene- A. D. 1002.
rally are born) with crying; partly for 26 Ethel-
a massacre made by the English on the redi.
Danes, but chiefly for the cruelty com-
mitted by the Danes on the English^b.

Concerning the former, certain Danes fled into a

^a [Arms: gules, a fesse or, in chief a roebuck courant of the second, in base three mullets argent, two and one.—By St. George's visitation of London 1633, it appears that two physicians of the name of Baldwin Hamey, father and son, were then living in London, the elder married to Sarah, sister of James Oeils, the younger to Anne, daughter of Francis de Petain of Rouen in Normandy. The coat as above blazoned is assigned to the family. B.]

Baldwin Hamey the son, the subject of the dedication, was a

doctor of physic in Leyden in Holland, and was incorporated at Oxford in the year 1629. In the year following he was admitted candidate of the college of physicians at London, afterwards, fellow, censor, anatomy reader, elector, register and consiliarius of the college. He died on the 14th of May 1676, aged 76, and was buried in the middle aisle of the church of Chelsea, St. Luke, near London. See Wood's Fasti, I. 248.]

^b [Malmesbury De Gestis Reg. f. 39. b.]

Murder of
the Danes
in a church.

A. D. 1011. church at Oxford^b, hoping the sanctity thereof (according to the devout principles of that age) would secure them: and probably such pity might have inclined them to Christianity. Whereas by command from king Æthelred, they were all burned in the place^c; whose blood remained not long unrevenge.

Canterbury sacked: Alphage killed by the Danes.

The Danish fury fell (if not first) fiercest on the city of Canterbury, with fire and sword, destroying eight thousand people therein: and such authors who quadruple that number, surely take in not only the vicinage, but all Kent to make up their account. Ælphegus the archbishop of Canterbury, commonly called Alphage, was then slain, and since sainted; a church nigh Cripplegate in London being consecrated to his memory.

Believe what you list.

2. A monk of Canterbury reports, that the abbey of St. Augustine was saved on this occasion; a Danish soldier stealing the pall from the tomb of St. Augustine, it stuck so close under his arm-pits, that it could not be parted from his skin until he had publicly made confession of his fault: *ultio raptorem rapuit*, saith the author^d. And hereupon the Danes of invaders turned defenders of that monastery. But others conceive, if it found extraordinary favour, their money (not this miracle) procured it^e. Sure I am, when Achan stole the Babylonish garment, he was left at large to discovery by lot, and no miracle detected him^f. Next year a nameless bishop of London was sacrificed to their fury, used worse than the task-masters of Israel, (on whose back the

^b [St. Frideswide's. Malmsb. ib.]

^c [Flor. Wigorn. a. 1011. Hoveden. f. 247. Matth. West. an. 1011.]

^d Thorn in his Description of Canterbury, [Col. 1782.]

^e See Will. Somner in his Antiqu. of Canterb. [p. 56.]

^f Joshua vii. 18.

number of bricks wanting were only scored in A.D. 1012. blows^g), being killed outright for want of present^{36 Ethelredi.} pay of the tribute promised unto them^h.

3. Cambridge and Oxford both of them deeply More cruelty. The valour of Cambridgehire men. tasted of this bitter cup at the same time. True it is, some two years since, when the rest of the East-Angles cowardly fled away, *homines comitatus Cantabrigiæ viriliter obstiterunt, unde Anglis regnantibus laus Cantabrigiensis provinciæ splendide florebat*ⁱ. Hence it is that I have read (though unable at the instant to produce my author) that Cambridgehire men claim an ancient (now antiquated) privilege, to lead the van in all battles^k. But valour at last little befriended them, the Danes burning Cambridge to ashes, and harassing the country round about.

4. Here the state-historians inform the reader A.D. 1016. of intestine wars betwixt Edmund Ironside, (so^{Two English kings} called for his hardy enduring all troubles,) king of^{at once.} England, defender, and Canutus the Dane, invader of this land; till at last, after a personal duel fought, the land was equally divided betwixt them^l. A division wherewith both seemed, neither were well pleased; seeing the least whole head cannot be fitted with the biggest half crown; all or none was their desire. Canutus at last with his silver hand^{Edmund Ironside}

^g Exod. v. 14.

^h Hen. Hunt. [f. 207.] Rog. Hoved. [f. 248. In this reign the Danes received first 10,000*l*, then 24,000*l*., then 30,000*l*. See Malm. f. 35. b.]

ⁱ Chronicon Jo. Bromton, p. 887. [Flor. Wigorn. a. 1010.]

^k [There seems no authority for this assertion. See "The Appeal," &c. p. ii. p. 20.]

^l [In the division of the

kingdom Edmund had Wessex, East-anglia, Essex, all the countries on the south of the Thames, together with the city of London. Canute was satisfied with the northern parts, thereby tacitly acknowledging his rival's superiority, Wessex having been for a long time considered the regal portion of the island, and the seat of the reigning monarch. See Flor. Wigorn. p. 298, 18.]

A. D. 1016.
1 Canuti.

treach-
erously
slain.

was too hard for the other his iron side ; who by his promised bribes prevailed with one Edric to kill this his corrival ; which being performed, he was fairly advanced with a halter^m. It would spoil the trade of all traitors, if such coin only were current in paying their rewards.

Canutus
his cruelty.

5. Canutus, or Knot the Dane, (from whom a bird in Lincolnshire is so called, wherewith his palate was much pleasedⁿ,) bathed himself in English blood, whom at this distance of time we may safely term a tyrant, so many murders and massacres were by him committed. For his religion, as yet he was a mongrel betwixt a pagan and a Christian ; though at last the latter prevailed, especially after his pilgrimage to Rome. In his passage thither he went through France ; where understanding that the people paid deep taxes, he disbursed so much of his own money in their behalf, that he brought their taxes to be

Converted
into charity.

^m Others say he was beheaded, [Matt. West. a. 1017. Florence and the Saxon Chronicle, an. 1016, speak of his death as a natural occurrence. Ingulph, f. 507, b., Æthelred of Rievaulx, p. 365, Radulfus de Diceto, p. 466, and others, describe it as owing to the treachery of Edric ; whereas, according to Malmsbury, the mode of it was uncertain : " ambiguum quo casu " extinctus." f. 40, b. Brompton, p. 906, mentions two reports similar to those already stated, but asserts that the latter was considered the more probable. These writers also state that Edric was put to death immediately after the murder ; but the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Wor-

cester, and Malmsbury, place it a year later. Edric was slain in the palace, and his body cast over the city walls, remaining unburied in compliance with Canute's order, who had dreaded his power and his treachery. Malmsbury says he was first strangled, then thrown out of the palace windows into the Thames, f. 41. Yet according to an early and contemporary author, Canute commanded Eric to cut off Edric ; who at once struck off his head with a battle-axe. Encom. Emmæ. p. 171. The discrepancies of the different chroniclers are noted by Rudbourn, in the Ang. Sac. I. 231.]

ⁿ Draiton's Poly-olbion, p. 112.

abated to one half^o; an act of pity in a prince without A. D. 1031.
precedent done to foreigners. It is vain for the 15 Canuti.
English to wish the like courtesy from the king of
France; partly because England lies not in their
way to Rome, partly because they are fuller of com-
pliments than courtesy.

6. Coming to Rome Canutus turned convert, He goeth to Rome.
changing his condition with the climate, shewing
there many expressions of devotion. Much he gave
to the pope, and something he gained from him;
namely, an immunity for archbishops, from their ex-

^o Radulph. de Diceto, col. 468. Johannes Bromton, col. 912. [Fuller has certainly misunderstood the charity of Canute, which did not consist in redeeming the taxes of the French nation, but in buying up and lessening the tolls which were exacted from pilgrims passing from England through France in their way to Rome. This will be seen by referring to the letter of Canute himself, published in Ingulph and Flor. of Worcester, and Malmsbury, a. 1031. From these authors the other chroniclers have derived their accounts. In this letter Canute says; "Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore [Conrado] et domino papa et principibus qui ibi erant de necessitatibus totius populi universi regni mei tam Anglorum quam Danorum, ut eis concederetur lex æquior et pax securior in via Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per viam arcentur et propter thelon injustum fatigen-

tur; annuitque postulatis imperator et Robertus rex [sc. Francorum] qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur. Cunctique principes edictis firmaverunt ut homines mei, tam mercatores quam alii, orandi causa viatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneariorum firmam pace et justa lege securi Romam eant et redeant."

At the request of Offa king of Mercia, Charlemagne permitted pilgrims to pass through France to Rome without paying toll and custom (Malmsb. f. 17.) For some very striking passages in the history of Canute, and the fervour of his devotion, see the remarks of an eyewitness in the Encomium Emmæ, p. 173. His character, which united in itself all the virtues and vices of the barbarian, is also well drawn by Saxo Grammaticus in his Hist. Dan. p. 192 sq., with the notes of Stephanus. ed. 1644. fol.]

A. D. 1031. cessive charges about their pall, and some other
15 Canuti. favours he obtained for his subjects^p. After his
Returneth return into his own country he laid out all the
improved in remainder of his days in acts of charity, in founding
devotion. or enriching of religious houses, and two especially,
 St. Bennet's in the Holm in Norfolk, and Hyde-
 abbey near Winchester.

A. D. 1035. 7. To this latter he gave a cross so costly for the
The para- metal, and curious for the making, that one year's
mount cross revenues of his crown was expended on the same^q.
of England But the cross of this cross was, that about the reign
for richness. of king Henry the Sixth^r it was burnt down, with
 the whole monastery, in a fire which was very sus-
 picious to have been kindled by intentional malice^s.
King Ca- This Canutus towards the latter end of his reign
nutus his never wore a crown, resigning up the same to the
humility. image of our Saviour: he was also famous for a par-
 ticular act of humility done by him on this oc-
 casion.

Commands 8. A parasite (and sooner will an hot May want
the sea. flies than a king's court such flatterers) sought to
 puff up king Canutus with an opinion of his puis-
 sance; as if, because England and Norway, there-
 fore Æolus and Neptune must obey him. In con-
 futing of whose falsehood, Canutus commanded his
 chair of state to be set on the seashore, nigh South-

^p [These favours are those mentioned in the previous note.]

^q Camden's Britan. in Hantshire, [p. 192.]

^r [Perhaps an oversight for Henry I. This cross and monastery were burnt in the civil wars which raged during Stephen's reign, in 1141, when

Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester, set fire to that city. See a description of this costly offering, and the burning of the city, in John of Worcester's Continuation of Florence of Worcester, p. 543. Will. Malmshur. f. 107, b.]

^s Idem ibidem.

ampton, and settled himself thereon. Then he imperiously commanded the waves (as a fence which walled that land belonging unto him) to observe their due distance, not presuming to approach him. The surly waves were so far from obeying him, they heard him not; who listened only to the proclamation of a higher monarch, *Hither shalt thou come, and no further*^t; and made bold to give the king's feet so coarse a kiss, as wetted him up to the knees^v.

9. On this accident king Canutus made an excellent sermon: first, adoring the infinite power of God, sole commander of the winds and waves; secondly, confessing the frailty of all flesh, unable to stop the least drop of the sea; thirdly, confuting the profaneness of flatterers, fixing an infinite power in a finite creature. As for the laws made by king Canutus, we have purposely omitted them: not so much because many, large, and ordinarily extant, but chiefly because most of civil concernment^w.

10. Two of his sons succeeded him, more known by their handsome surnames, than any other desert. First his base son, (taking advantage of his brother's absence,) called from his swiftness Harold Harefoot belike; another Asahel in nimbleness^x, but hare's-heart had better befitted his nature, so cowardly his disposition. Then his legitimate son, called Hardy-Canute, more truly bloody Canute, eminent for his cruelty^y. With him expired the Danish royal line

A.D. 1035.
19 Canuti.

But in vain.

His sermon
thereon.

His laws
why omitted.

Harold
Harefoot
succeeded
him.
A.D. 1035.
1 Haroldi
Harefoot.

A.D. 1040.
1 Hardy
Canuti.
Then Hardy-
Canutus.

^t Job xxxviii. 11.

^v Hen. Huntingdon, [p. 209. Radulf de Diceto, col. 469.]

^w [He died at Shaftsbury on Wednesday Nov. 12, 1035,

and was buried at Winton. Flor. Wigorn. in an.]

^x 2 Sam. ii. 18.

^y [William of Malmsbury mentions a report that Harold

A. D. 1040. in England, leaving no issue behind him, and opening an opportunity for the banished son of king Æthelred to recover the crown, whose ensuing reign is richly worth our description. Meantime it is worth our observing, in how few years the Danish greatness shrank to nothing; and from formidable, became inconsiderable, yea contemptible. Indeed Canutus was one of extraordinary worth, and the wheel once moved will for a time turn of itself. Had Harold his son (by what way it skilled not) been one of a tolerable disposition, he might have traded in reputation, on the stock of his father's

was the son of Canute by Ælfgyva, daughter of count Elfmus. (De Gestis, f. 42, b. Flor. Wigorn. a. 1035.) And although this Harold is frequently branded with the stigma of illegitimacy by our chroniclers, he was in all probability illegitimate in no other sense, than as having been born previous to Canute's possession of the English crown; and consequently was not considered as the rightful heir, no uncommon thing in those days. These facts seem distinctly traceable in the varying statements of the monkish writers. "Haroldum filium Ælfgyvæ sed diffamatum fictum filium regis Cnuti." Ingulph. p. 61. When Emma was married to Canute, she stipulated that none other than her own children should succeed: "Dicebatur enim ab alia quadam rex filios habuisse;" says her courtly panegyrist. Encom. Emmæ, p. 172. Yet in the Chron. of Mailros (a. 1035.) it

is stated that Canute appointed Harold to succeed him in England. Harold took the northern parts of the island, being supported in his claims by most of the Danes, and by the Londoners, who had almost degenerated into barbarism from their familiarity with the Danes. (Malmsb. f. 42, b.) Ælfgyva was to reside at Winchester, and govern the southern parts of the island in the right of her son Hardy-Canute. But in the year 1037, his brother still lingering in Denmark, Harold, partly by his own activity, partly by the influence of the treasures which he had seized at Winchester on the death of his father, caused himself to be proclaimed sole king of England, and banished Ælfgyva. He dying at Oxford in 1040, the English nobles sent a deputation to his brother Hardy-Canute, who succeeded him. See the Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn. a. 1035—1040. Malmsb. f. 43.]

memory. But being so very mean, (considerable A. D. 1040.
only in cruelty,) his father's worth did him the dis- 1 Hardy
advantage to render his unworthiness the more con- Canuti.
spicuous. Besides, when Hardy-Canute his brother
succeeded him, and though better born, shewed
himself no better bred in his inhuman carriage; it
caused not only a nausea in the people of Eng-
land of Danish kings, but also an appetite, yea a
longing after their true and due sovereign.

11. Edward the Confessor, youngest son of king A. D. 1042.
Æthelred, (his elder brethren being slain, and their 1 Edvardi
children fled away,) came to be king of England². Confessoria.
I understand not the ceremony which I read was Edward
used to this Edward, whilst as yet, saith a monkish the Con-
author, properly enough in his own language^a, he fessor be-
was "contained in the weak cloisters of his mother's comes king
"womb;" at which time the peers of the land of England.
swore allegiance unto him or her (the sex as yet
being unknown) before he was born. Indeed I find
that Varanes his child was crowned king whilst yet in
his mother's body, *applicata ad uterum corona*^b. But
what solemnity soever was done to this Hans-en-
Kelder, it did not afterwards embolden him to the
anticipation of the crown, attending till it descended
upon him^c.

^a [He was consecrated at Winchester April 3, 1043. Flor. Wigorn., Sax. Chron. in an.]

^a Father Hierome Porter in the Flowers of the Lives of the Saints, p. 2.

^b Agathias [De Imp. Justiniani, lib. iv. p. 135. ed. Paris 1660.]

^c [From this period to the

establishment of William the Conqueror our history is involved in much obscurity and confusion: how to discover the truth between the conflicting statements of the Norman and Saxon writers, seems next to a hopeless task.

Thus much however seems clear; that king Edward was

ts, he caused some few of the best to be A. D. 1041
 the rest, as captious and unnecessary, Edvardi Confessori

Hence, say some, they were called
 laws, as calculated for the common
 private person's advantage.

is admirable how the Danes in this king's No hostile Danes appear in England.
 were vanished away. They who formerly
 and scarce be numbered in England, they were so
 many, could now scarce be numbered they were so
 few, and those living quietly with their English
 neighbours. As for foreign invading Danes in this
 king's reign, as I cannot see them, so I will not seek
 them, glad of their room and riddance. Indeed once
 I meet with an assay of them in a navy bound to in-
 fest England: but their king being casually drowned
 as he entered his own fleet, put an end to their
 hopes, and our fears for that design.

14. Emma, king Edward's mother, being suspected A. D. 1041
 too familiar with Ælfwine bishop of Winchester, The man-
 ner of or-
 deal by fir
 under the colour of devotion, put herself to be tried

ority; so at least we may in-
 fer from the terms upon which
 the quarrel was compromised.
 For all the Normans were
 banished, the queen was re-
 stored, and Godwin and his
 family taken into favour. The
 next year Godwin died; in
 what way, may be best nar-
 rated in the words of Florence:
 "Godwino comiti, more so-
 "lito, regi ad mensam asse-
 "denti suprema evenit cala-
 "mitas. Gravi etenim morbo
 "ex improviso percussus mu-
 "tus in ipsa sede declinavit.
 "Quod filii ejus comes Haral-
 "dus, Tosti et Gyrth videntes,
 "illum in regis cameram por-

"tabant, sperantes eum post
 "modicum de infirmitate con-
 "valescere. Sed ille expers
 "virium, quinta post hæc feria
 "miserabili cruciatu vita de-
 "cessit et in veteri monasterio
 "sepultus est." an. 1054. Such
 is the good plain-sense account
 of Florence; which almost all
 subsequent writers, particularly
 the Normans, distorted into
 the marvellous. Indeed Flo-
 rence, assisted by the Saxon
 Chronicle and Ingulph, seems
 to be almost the only writer we
 can follow with safety in this
 perplexed period of our his-
 tory.]

A. D. 1046. by ordeal; whereof this the manner^d. Nine ploughshares glowing hot were laid on the ground, one foot distant from another; the party suspected was to be brought blindfolded, and barefooted to pass over them; if he chanced to step in the intervals, or on the hot iron unhurt, he was pronounced innocent, otherwise condemned for an offender. An unjust law, wherein the triers had no precept, the tried no promise. Must innocence be ruined as often as malice would wrong it, if miracle would not rescue it? This was not a way to try man, but tempt God: as just a trying by fire, as that of our modern witches by water. This trial queen Emma admirably underwent, not sensible of the ploughshares till past them, saying to such as led her, "Oh! when shall I come to the place of my purgation?"

Queen
Emma her
miraculous
purgation.

15. By what power this was performed, I will not dispute, finding amongst the heathens a city Feronia, twenty miles from Rome, under mount Soracte, where the inhabitants, possessed with a spirit of a deity therein worshipped, usually walked upon burning coals without any harm^e. Only I wonder, that bishop Ælfwine (equally suspected, and equally innocent with Emma) should not proffer himself to the like trial. But, perchance, the prudent prelate remembered that such barbarous customs, though kept up amongst the common people, were forbidden by the ancient canons, as also by the letter of pope Stephen

^d [Archbishop Parker's Antiq. p. 145. See also Godwin De Præsul. p. 56, who justly discredits the whole story, which is evidently of modern growth, and is found neither

in the Saxon Chron., Florence of Worcester, or Ingulph.]

^e Strab. Geog. lib. v. [p. 346. ed. Amsterd. 1707.] et Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 2.

the Fifth^f, which about the year eight hundred eighty A.D. 1046.
 and seven he wrote to Humbert bishop of Mentz: † Edwardi
 Confessoris.
 and now Emma, who went willingly on this sad
 errand, did the business for them both, and cleared
 their credits. The church of Winchester got well
 hereby, viz. nine manors, which queen Emma be-
 stowed thereon, in commemoration of her deli-
 verance.

16. King Edward the Confessor was married to A wife no
 wife.
 the devout lady Edith; his wife in mind, but not in
 body; in consent, not act; being only (as my author
 saith) an Abishag to the king^g. Strange! that two
 persons, if loving each other in the prime of their
 years, should light on so happy a temper, as mutually
 to warm, not to heat one another; which the wise
 men in our age will account difficult, and the wanton
 impossible. Such will say, if this was true, that
 king Edward passed as great a trial as queen Emma
 his mother; and that his ordeal was as hard as hers
 was painful.

17. Was it not pity but the world should have Yet, was
 there not a
 cause?
 mo of the breed of them, who were so godly a
 couple? Let baseness be barren, and cruelty child-
 less; pious persons deserve a double portion in that
 charter of fruitfulness, *Multiply and increase*^h. Yea,
 the English crown now wanting an heir, and, for
 default thereof likely to fall to foreigners, might (I
 will not say have tempted, but) have moved king
 Edward to the knowledge of his wife. But whilst
 papists cry up this his incredible continency, others
 easily unwonder the same, by imputing it partly to

^f [See Bale's Acta Rom.
 Pontif. p. 136. ed. 1615.]

^g [Ailred in vita Edwardi,
 p. 378.]

^h Gen. i. 28.

A.D. 1051. usual favour from such a prelate. The archbishop
 9 Edwardi
 Confessoria. returns, *Do tibi basium*, kissing him therewith. An
 holy kiss, perchance, as given, but a crafty one as
 taken: for Godwin presently posts to Boseham, and
 takes possession thereof. And though here was
 neither real intention in him who passed it away,
 nor valuable consideration to him, but a mere cir-
 cumvention, yet such was Godwin's power, and the
 archbishop's poorness of spirit, that he quietly en-
 joyed it. Nor have I ought else to observe either of
 Berkley or Boseham, but that both these rich and
 ancient manors, earl Godwin his brace of cheats, and
 distant an hundred miles each from other, are now
 both met in the right honourable George Berkley, as
 heir apparent thereof, the paramount Mæcenas of
 my studies: whose ancestors as they were long since
 justly possessed of them, so I doubt not but their
 posterity will long comfortably enjoy themⁱ.

A miracle
 reported
 done by
 king Ed-
 ward.

21. The monks that wrote this king Edward's life
 had too heavy a hand in over-spicing it with mira-
 cles, which hath made the relation too hot for the
 mouth of any moderate belief^j. A poor cripple

ⁱ [Of course all unfavourable
 rumours respecting Godwin,
 proceeding from Norman au-
 thority, must be received with
 suspicion. His principal fault
 was apparently too great na-
 tionality (it might not be unal-
 ligned with ambition) in resisting
 Edward's efforts to Normanise
 this land, and throw all his
 influence into the hands of
 Norman nobles. See particu-
 larly Malmsb. f. 45, b.

But where Fuller got these
 tales from (which are a dis-

grace to his history) I cannot
 tell. They are not even hinted
 at by any of the early writers;
 not even by the Norman chro-
 niclers, who would not have
 failed to avail themselves of so
 good a charge against Godwin.

Not to say that the fri-
 volous play upon the word
 Bosham is absurd, particularly
 when at that time the word
 was pronounced and written
 Bosen-ham.]

^j [Fuller's account is derived
 from Ailredus Abbas Rievallis

the Fifth^f, which about the year eight hundred eighty A. D. 1046.
 and seven he wrote to Humbert bishop of Mentz: 4 Edwardi Confessoris.
 and now Emma, who went willingly on this sad
 errand, did the business for them both, and cleared
 their credits. The church of Winchester got well
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 the devout lady Edith; his wife in mind, but not in
 body; in consent, not act; being only (as my author
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 persons, if loving each other in the prime of their
 years, should light on so happy a temper, as mutually
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 men in our age will account difficult, and the wanton
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 no of the breed of them, who were so godly
 couple? Let baseness be barren, and cruelty child-
 less; pious persons deserve a double portion in that
 charter of fruitfulness, *Multiply and increase*^h. Yea,
 the English crown now wanting an heir, and, for
 default thereof likely to fall to foreigners, might (I
 will not say have tempted, but) have moved king
 Edward to the knowledge of his wife. But whilst
 priests cry up this his incredible continency, others
 unwonder the same, by imputing it partly to

[See Bale's *Acta Rom.*
 lib. p. 136. ed. 1615.]

^g [Ailred in *vita Edwardi*,
 p. 378.] ^h Gen. i. 28.

A.D. 1051.
9 Edvardi
Confessoris.

The good
daughter
of a bad
father.

his impotence, afflicted with an infirmity, partly to the distaste of his wife, whom he married only for conveniency, and to the distrust of her chastity, on suspicion whereof he confined her to the monastery of Whorwell (as I take it) in Hampshire^g.

18. But grant queen Edith a chaste woman, as she is generally believed; daughter she was to a wicked father, earl Godwin by name, whence the proverb,

Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Editham^h.

From prickly stock as springs a rose,
So Edith from earl Godwin grows.

Little ill being written of the daughter, and no good

^g [Ingulph (a. 1043.) and other chroniclers very generally agree in commending the beauty and accomplishment of Edith. Ingulph, who knew her well, gives the following story of the queen's notice of him when a boy: "Vidi ego illam multotiens, cum patrem meum in regis curia morantem adhuc puer inviserem, et sæpius mihi de scholis venienti de literis ac versu meo opponebat cum occurrerem, et libentissime de grammatica soliditate ad logicam levitatem, qua callebat, declinans, cum argumentorum subtili ligamine me conclusisset, semper tribus aut quatuor nummis per ancillulam numeratis ad regium penum transmisit et refectum dimissit." p. 62. ed. 1684. But the testimony of William of Malmesbury is very remarkable, and strongly corroborates the opinion of Fuller. That writer says, f. 45: "Non multo post

"Edgitham filiam Godwini rex in connubium accepit, feminam in cujus pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gymnasium, sed parvum in mundanis rebus ingenium; quam cum videres, si litteras stuperes, modestiam certe animi et speciem corporis desiderares. Hæc et vivo marito et mortuo probri suspicionem non caruit, sed moriens tempore regis Willielmi jurejurando astantibus de perpetua integritate ultro satisfecit. Nuptam sibi rex hac arte tractabat ut nec thoro amoverit nec virili more cognosceret. Quod an familiaris illius odio, quod prudenter dissimulabat pro tempore, an amore castitatis fecerit, pro certo compertum non habeo. Illud celeberrime fertur, nunquam illum cujusquam mulieris contubernio pudicitiam læsisse."

^h [Ingulph. Hist. Croyl. a. 1043.]

of the father. Indeed king Edward was father-in-law A. D. 1051.
9 Edwardi
Confessoris. ridden, who feared earl Godwin rather than trusted him, as who with a long train of his power could sweep many dependents after him. Thus Godwin, like those sands near Kent which bear his name, never spared what he could spoil, but swallowed all which came within his compass to devour. Two instances whereof, because both belonging to church-matters, we will relate.

19. He cast a covetous eye on the fair nunnery of Berkley in Gloucestershire, and thus contrived it for Godwin's
device to
get Berk-
ley nun-
nery. himself. He left there an handsome young man, really or seemingly sick, for their charity to recover; who quickly grows well and wanton. He is toying, tempting, taking; such fire and flax quickly make a flame. The sisters lose their chastity, and, without taking wife in the way, are ready to make mothers. The young man, if sick, returns to earl Godwin in health, leaving the healthful nuns sick behind him. The fame hereof fills the country, flies to court, is complained of by earl Godwin to the king; officers are sent to inquire, they return it to be true, the nuns are turned out, their house and lands forfeited, both bestowed on earl Godwin; surprised weakness being put out, and designing wickedness being placed in the room thereof. Surely king Edward knew nothing of Godwin's deceit herein; otherwise it was unjust that the whores should be punished, and the principal pander rewarded.

20. At another time he had a mind to the rich manor of Boseham in Sussex, and complimented it out of Robert archbishop of Canterbury in this manner. Coming to the archbishop, he saith, *Da mihi basium*, that is, "Give me a buss," or a kiss, an Another
trick to
gain the
manor of
Boseham.

A. D. 1061.
19 Edwardi
Confessoris.

thicket? This church many years before had been dedicated to, and, as the monks say, consecrated by St. Peter, till destroyed by the Danes, king Edward raised it from the ruins, endowing it with large privileges and rich possessions^k.

A ring said
to be sent
from St.
John to
king Ed-
ward.

23. Next to St. Peter, our Edward's darling, he is said to be most in favour with St. John the apostle, who is reported to have appeared unto him in the shape of a begging pilgrim; the king, not having at the present money to supply his wants, plucked off his ring from his finger, and bestowed it upon him. This very ring, some years after, St. John sent him back again by two pilgrims out of Palestine; but withal telling him, that he should die within six months after: a message more welcome than the ring to such a mortified man. If any doubt of the truth thereof, it is but riding to Havering in Essex, so called, as they say, from this ring^l, where, no doubt, the inhabitants will give any sufficient satisfaction therein.

A vision
worth ob-
serving.

24. Amongst the many visions in this king's reign, one I will not omit, because seeming to have somewhat more than mere monk therein. One being inquisitive what should become of England after king Edward's death, received this answer; "The kingdom of England belongeth to God himself, who will provide it a king at his pleasure." Indeed England is God's on several titles: first, as a country; *the earth is his, and the fulness thereof*; secondly, as an island, which are God's demesnes,

^j Gen. xxii. 13.

^k [Built by a Londoner at the instigation of king Æthelbert about the year 618. Will.

Thorn. Chron. col. 1768.]

^l Camden's Britan. in Essex, [p. 319.]

which he keeps in his own hand of his daily providence ; thirdly, as a kingdom on which he hath bestowed miraculous deliverances. Seeing then England is his own, we know who said, *Is it not lawful to do what I will with mine own^m?* May he dispose of his own to his own glory, and the good of his own servants.

A. D. 1067.
19 Edwardi
Confessoris.

25. Amongst the many resplendent virtues in king Edward, contempt of wealth was not the least, whereof some bring in this for an instance. The king lay on a pallet surrounded with curtains ; by him stood a chest of silver, which Hugolin his treasurer, called away on some sudden occasion, had left open. In comes a thievish courtier, takes away as much money as he could carry, and disposeth thereof. Then cometh he the second time for a new burden, little suspecting that the unseen king saw him all the while, and having laden himself, departed. Some add, he returned the third time. " Be content " (quoth the king) with what you have, lest, if Hugolin come in and catch you, he take it all from " you." Soon after the treasurer returning, and fretting for loss of the money, " Let him have it " quietly (said the king), he needeth it more than " we do." Words which spake him a better man than king, as accessory to his own robbing ; who, if pleased to have made this pilfering fellow to have tasted of the whip for his pains, had marred a pretty jest, but made a better earnest thereinⁿ.

King Edward's contempt of wealth.

26. Posterity conceived so great an opinion of king Edward's piety, that his clothes were deposited

King Edward's wardrobe

^m Matt. xx. 15.

cated instance in Ingulph, p.

ⁿ [Ailred de vita Edwardi, 65.]

p. 376. See a better authenti-

A. D. 1061. amongst the regalia, and solemnly worn by our English kings on their coronation; never counting themselves so fine as when invested with his robes; the sanctity of Edward the first wearer excusing, yea adorning the modern antiqueness of his apparel. Amongst these is the rod or sceptre, with a dove on the top thereof, the emblem of peace, because in his reign England enjoyed halcyon days, free from Danish invasions: as also his crown, chair, staff, tunic, close pall, tuisni hosen, sandals, spurs, gloves, &c.^o Expect not from me a comment on these several clothes, or reason for the wearing of them. In general, it was to mind our kings, when habited with his clothes, to be clothed with the habit of his virtuous endowments; as when putting on the gloves of this confessor, their hands ought to be like his, in moderate taking of taxes from their subjects. Indeed, impositions once raised are seldom remitted, pretended necessities being always found out for their continuance. But our Edward released to his subjects the grievous burden of Dane-gelt, payed to his predecessors, conceiving it fit, now the Danes were departed, that the gelt or tax should go after them^p. But now Edward's staff is broken, chair overturned, clothes rent, and crown melted; our present age esteeming them the relics of superstition.

No confessor in the strictness of the word.

27. And yet all things being cast up, I confess I understand not how the name confessor is proper to king Edward, in the strict acceptance thereof. For a confessor is one actually persecuted for the testimony of the truth, and prepared to lose his life for

^o See Mille's Catalogue of [ed. 1610.]
Honour; of Nobility, p. 59. ^p [See Ingulph, *ibid.*]

the same. He is a martyr in bullion, wanting only the stamp of a violent death to be impressed upon him. Now a great part of our Edward's life was led by him in peace and plenty; nothing bounding his abundance but his own moderation, and for twenty years together having no visible foe to offend him. And although in his youth he lived in Normandy, in a middle condition, betwixt an exile and a traveller, flying thither for fear of the Danes, yet such his sufferings were of civil concernment, not directly relating to conscience, though at distance reducible thereunto. But seeing in the titles of great persons it is better to give too much than too little, a confessor we found him, and a confessor we leave him.

28. Our eyes have been so intent in beholding the virtues of this king, we have been little at leisure to take notice of the archbishops of Canterbury during his reign. Know then that about ten years since, Robert archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Eadsy therein, fearing some hard measure from earl Godwin, notwithstanding he had been contentedly kissed out of his manor of Boseham, conveyed himself away beyond the seas to his monastery in Normandy, whence he came first into England^q. After whose departure, Stigand bishop of Winchester intruded himself into that see, eminent only for vice and sordid covetousness.

29. As for the ecclesiastical laws made by this king in his reign, it will be enough to affix their principal titles.

^q [He was outlawed with favour. See p. 374, n. Sax. other Normans, on occasion of earl Godwin being restored to Chron. an. 1052.]

A. D. 1061.
19 Edwardi
Confessoris.

i. That every clerk and scholar should quietly enjoy their goods and possessions.

ii. What solemn festivals people may come and go of, without any lawsuits to disturb them.

iii. That in all courts where the bishops' proctor doth appear, his case is first to be heard and determined.

iv. That guilty folk flying to the church should there have protection, not to be reprehended by any, but by the bishop and his ministers.

v. That tithes be paid to the church of sheep, pigs, bees, and the like.

vi. How the ordeal was to be ordered for the trial of guilty persons by fire and water.

vii. That Peter-pence, or Romescot, be faithfully paid to the pope.

But I lose time, and refer the reader to read these constitutions at large, being three and twenty in number, in the worthy work of that no less learned than religious knight, sir Henry Spelman⁹.

A. D. 1066.
How the
kings of
England
come to
cure the
king's evil.

30. And now the full time was come wherein good king Edward exchanged this life for a better. Who, as he was famous for many personal miracles, so he is reported to have entailed, by heaven's consort, an hereditary virtue on his successors the kings of England, only with this condition, that they continue constant in Christianity, to cure the king's evil^r. This disease, known to the Greeks by the name of *χοιράδες*, termed by Latins *struma*, and

⁹ In his Concil. I. 619. [Wilkins, I. 310.]

^r Jac. Primrosius de vulgi in medicina error. cap. 49. [ed. 1638. See the first instance of king Edward touch-

ing for the evil, narrated by Malmsb. De Gestis, f. 51. According to the monkish accounts, he cured by his touch other diseases besides the evil.]

scrophulæ, hath its cause from phlegm, its chief and common outward residence, in or near the neck and throat, where it expresseth itself in knobs and kernels, pregnant oftentimes with corrupted blood and other putrified matter, which on the breaking of those bunches floweth forth, equally offensive to sight, smell, and touch. And yet this noisome disease is happily healed by the hands of the kings of England stroking the sore: and if any doubt of the truth thereof, they may be remitted to their own eyes for further confirmation. But there is a sort of men, who to avoid the censure of over-easy credulity, and purchase the repute of prudent austerity, justly incur the censure of affected frowardness. It being neither manners nor discretion in them, in matters notoriously known, to give daily experience the lie, by the backwardness of their belief^a.

31. But whence this cure proceeds is much controverted amongst the learned. Some recount it in the number of those ἀναπόδεκτα, whose reason cannot be demonstrated. For as in vicious common-

^a Several opinions of the causes thereof.

^a [It will appear strange that Fuller should have been attacked for throwing discredit upon this miraculous cure. See *The Appeal*, &c. part i. p. 55, and part ii. p. 22. That some effect was produced is certain from the testimony of many respectable witnesses: nor is it probable that this ceremony would have continued so long, had its effects been merely imaginative. Fuller is guilty of a slight mistake respecting the collect, which does not consist of any portion of scripture. The form of the service, which is brief, will be found in *The Appeal*, &c.

p. 23, and in Heylyn's *Examen. Historicum*, p. 47, from which it is taken. Till the time of James I., the custom had been for the king to make the sign of the cross over the tumour, by whom it was laid aside, and ordered to be expunged from the service. See *H. Le Strange Alliances of Divine Offices*, p. 250. And *The Appeal*, ib. This pretension to the gift of healing was first laid aside by queen Anne; yet prince Charles, son of the Pretender, touched for the evil in the celebrated year 1745; successfully according to some Scottish writers.]

A. D. 1066. wealths bastards are frequent, who being reputed
 24 Edvardi
 Confessoris. *fili* *populi*, have no particular father; so man's igno-

rance increaseth the number of occult qualities, which I might call chances in nature, where the effect is beheld, but cannot be certainly referred to any immediate and proper cause thereof. Others impute it to the power of fancy, and an exalted imagination^t. For when the poor patient (who perchance seldom heard of, and never saw a king before) shall behold his royal hand dabbling in a puddle of putrefaction, and with a charitable confidence rubbing, smoothing, chafing those loathsome kernels, which I may call clouds of corruption, dissolved oft-times into a feculant shower, I say, when the sick man shall see an hand so humble of an arm so high, such condescension in a king, to stroke that sore, at which meaner persons would stop their nostrils, shut their eyes, or turn their faces; this raiseth, erecteth, entroneth the patient's fancy, summoning his spirits to assist nature with their utmost might, to encounter the disease with greater advantage. And who will look into the legend of the miracles of imagination, shall find many strange and almost incredible things thereby really effected.

Others
 count it su-
 perstition.

32. Other learned men, and particularly Gaspar Peucerus^v, though acquitting this cure from diabolical conjuration, yet tax it as guilty of superstition. With him all such do side as quarrel at the ceremonies and circumstances used at the healing of this malady. Either displeased at the collect read, consisting of the first nine verses of the Gospel of

^t Aug. Ferrerius, [vera mendendi method. ii. 11. ed. 1574.]

^v [Comment. de præcipuis Divinationum generibus, p. 192. ed. 1591.]

St. John^a, as wholly improper, and nothing relating to the occasion, or unresolved of the efficacy of the gold pendent about the patients' neck, (whether partly completing, or a bare complement of the cure,) or secretly unsatisfied what manner and measure of belief is required, according to the model whereof health is observed to come sooner or later, or openly offended with the *sign of the cross*^w, which was used to be made by the royal hands on the place infected. All which exceptions fall to the ground, when it shall be avowed, that notwithstanding the omission of such ceremonies, as requisite rather to the solemnity than substance of the cure, the bare hands of our kings (without the gloves, as I may term it, of the aforesaid circumstances) have effected the healing of this disease.

33. Hereupon some make it a clear miracle, and immediately own God's finger in the king's hand. That when the art of the physician is posed, the industry of the chirurgeon tired out, the experience of both at a loss, when all human means cry craven, then that wound made by the hand of God is cured by the hand of his vicegerent. Hath Heaven endued vegetables (the worst and weakest of living creatures) with cordial qualities? Yea, hath it bestowed precious properties on dull and inanimate waters, stones, and minerals, insomuch that such are condemned for silly or sullen, for stupid or stubborn, as doubt thereof? And shall we be so narrow-hearted as not to conceive it possible that Christian men, the noblest of corporeal creatures, kings, the most eminent

A. D. 1066.
24 Edvardi
Confessoria.

^a [Probably he means the second Gospel, which was taken from John i. 1—14, inclusive.]

^w Guil. Tooker in Charismate, cap. vii. p. 96. [ed. 1597.]

Many
make the
cure mira-
culous.

A. D. 1066. of all Christian men, kings of Britain, the first-fruits
 24 Edvardi of all Christian kings, should receive that peculiar
 Confessoris. privilege and sanative power, whereof daily instances
 are presented unto us? See here the vast difference
 betwixt papists and protestants. How do the former
 court those miracles which fly from them; and often,
 in default of real ones, are glad and greedy to hug
 and embrace empty shadows of things falsely re-
 ported to be done, or fondly reputed to be miracles?
 Whereas many protestants, on the contrary, as in
 the matter in hand, are scrupulous in accepting mi-
 racles truly tendered unto them. But although our
 religion, firmly founded on, and safely fenced with
 the scriptures, needs no miracles to confirm or coun-
 tenance the truth thereof, yet when they are by the
 hand of Heaven cast into our scales, not to make our
 doctrine weight, but as *superpondium*, or an overplus
 freely bestowed; sure they may safely without sin
 be received, not to say, can scarce be refused, with-
 out, at least, some suspicion of neglect and ingrati-
 tude to the goodness of God.

The inge-
 nuous con-
 fession of a
 catholic.

34. Nor will it be amiss here to relate a passage
 which happened about the midst of the reign of
 queen Elizabeth, after pope Pius did let fly his ex-
 communication against her. There was a stiff Roman
 catholic, (as they delight to term themselves,) other-
 wise a man well accomplished, and of an ingenuous
 disposition, who being cast into prison, (I conceive
 for his religion,) was there visited in an high degree
 with the king's evil. And having with great pain
 and expense, but no success, long used the advice of
 physicians, at last he humbly addressed himself unto
 the queen's majesty, by whom, with God's help, he
 was completely cured. And being demanded, "What

“news?” “I perceive,” said he, “now at last by plain
 “experience, that the excommunication denounced
 “by the pope against her majesty is in very deed of
 “none effect, seeing God hath blessed her with so
 “great and miraculous a virtue^x.”

35. This mention of queen Elizabeth (there is a Queen Elizabeth why
 magnetic virtue in stories for one to attract another) ^{displeased}
 minds me of a passage in the beginning of her ^{with the}
 reign. Making her progress into Gloucestershire, ^{people in}
 people affected with this disease did in uncivil crowds ^{Gloucester-}
 press in upon her. Insomuch that her majesty, be-
 twixt anger, grief, and compassion, let fall words to
 this effect: “Alas, poor people, I cannot, I cannot
 “cure you; it is God alone that can do it!” Which
 words some interpreted, (contrary to her intent and
 practice, continuing such cures till the day of her
 death,) an utter renouncing and disclaiming of any
 instrumental efficacy in herself. Whereas she only
 removed her subjects’ eyes from gazing on her, to
 look up to Heaven. For men’s minds naturally are
 so dull and heavy, that instead of travelling with
 their thanks to God, the cause of all cures, they
 lazily take up their lodging more than half way on
 this side, mistaking the dealer for the giver of their
 recovery. It follows not therefore that the queen
 refused to heal their bodies, because careful in the
 first place to cure their souls of this dangerous mis-
 take. A princess, who as she was a most exact de-
 mander of her due, (observed seldom or never to
 forgive her greatest favourites what they owed her,)
 so did she most punctually pay her engagements to
 others, as to all men, so most especially to God,

^x Guil. Tooker in *Charismate*, cap. vi. p. 92.

A.D. 1066. loath that he should lose any honour due unto him,
 24 Edvardi Confessoris. by her unjust detaining thereof.

The kings
 of France
 cure the
 king's evil.

36. The kings of France share also with those of England in this miraculous cure. And Laurentius reports^y, that when Francis the First king of France was kept prisoner in Spain, he, notwithstanding his exile and restraint, daily cured infinite multitudes of people of that disease; according to this epigram:

Hispanos inter sanat rex chœradas, estque
 Captivus superis gratus ut ante fuit.

The captive king the evil cures in Spain;
 Dear, as before, he doth to God remain.

So it seemeth his medicinal quality is affixed, not to his prosperity, but person; so that during his durance he was fully free to exercise the same.

Laurentius
 falsely de-
 nies the
 kings of
 England
 power in
 curing the
 king's evil.

37. Thus far we patiently hear, and sufficiently credit this author; but can no longer afford him either belief or attention, when he presumeth to tell us that the kings of England never cured the king's evil, a virtue appropriated only to his majesty of France^z. Only he confesseth, that long ago some of our English kings of the Anjouan race, (descended from Jeffery Plantagenet), did heal the falling sickness with certain consecrated annulets, a custom long since disused. Thus he seeks to deprive our princes of their patrimonial virtue; and to make them reparations (instead of their sanative power, whereof they are peaceably possessed to them and their heirs, holding it of God in chief) with assigning

^y [De mirabili strumar. sanatione, p. 18. ed. 1609. To this book is prefixed a very handsome engraving, repre-

sending the ceremony of the king touching for the evil.]
^z De mirabili strumarum curatione, c. 2.

them an old lease, where the title at the best was litigious, and the term long ago expired. But the reader may be pleased to take notice, that this Laurentius was physician in ordinary to king Henry the Fourth of France, and so had his judgment herein bowed awry with so weighty a relation; flattery being so catching a disease, wherewith the best doctors of physic may sometimes be infected. To cry quits with him, Dr. Tooker, chaplain to queen Elizabeth, in a treatise he wrote of this subject, denieth the kings of France ever originally cured this evil, but *per aliquam propaginem*^a, by a sprig of right derived from the primitive power of our English kings, under whose jurisdiction most of the French provinces were once subjected.

38. Between these two authors, violent in opposition, haply we may find the truth, whose constant dwelling-place is pleasantly seated in a moderate vale, betwixt two swelling extremes. For it plainly appeareth by uncontrollable arguments and evidences, that both the crowns of England and France have for many years been invested with this miraculous gift; yet so that our English kings are the elder brothers in the possession thereof. For if St. Lewis king of France, who was contemporary with our king Henry the Third, was the first of that royal

A. D. 1066.
24 Edvardi
Confessoris.

The indif-
ferent
opinion.

^a In his Charismate, cap. vi. p. 84. [Tooker's work was printed many years before that of his opponent, in which this absurdity was first advanced. The controversy had at this time quite changed from its original grounds. For in the time of Malmesbury it was at-

tributed generally to king Edwards personal holiness: "no-
"stro tempore quidam falsam
"insinuunt operam, qui asse-
"verant istius morbi curatio-
"nem, non ex sanctitate sed
"ex regalis prosapiæ heredi-
"tate fluxisse." De Gest. f. 51.]

A.D. 1066. race which healed this evil^b, his cradle was more
 24 Edwardi
 Confessoris. than one hundred and sixty years after the coffin of
 our Edward the Confessor, from whom, as is afore-
 said, our kings derive this sovereign power by con-
 stant succession. But methinks my book in this
 discourse begins to bunch or swell out, and some
 will censure this digression for a *struma*, or tedious
 exuberancy, beyond the just proportion of our his-
 tory; wherefore no more hereof: only I will con-
 clude with two prayers, extending the first to all
 good people, that Divine Providence would be pleased
 to preserve them from this painful and loathsome
 disease. The second I shall confine to myself alone,
 (not knowing how it will suit with the consciences
 and judgments of others,) yet so as not excluding
 any who are disposed to join with me in my petition;
 namely, that if it be the will of God to visit me,
 whose body hath the seeds of all sickness, and soul
 of all sins, with the aforesaid malady, I may have the
 favour to be touched of his majesty, the happiness to
 be healed by him, and the thankfulness to be grate-
 ful to God the author, and God's image the instru-
 ment of my recovery. I will only add this short
 story, and then proceed. A little before these wars
 began, a minister (not over-loyally affected) was ac-
 cused, and was like to have been troubled for this
 passage in his sermon, that "oppression was the
 "king's evil." But being called to answer it before
 the commissioners, he expounded his own words,
 that he meant oppression was the king's evil, not
 that the king caused it, but only cured it, and alone
 in this land could remedy and redress the same.

^b So witnesseth Andr. du Chesne, a French author, and others.

39. King Edward dying childless, caused by his affected chastity, left the land at a loss for an heir in a direct line, and opened a door to the ambition of collateral pretenders. Indeed the undoubted right lay in Edgar Ætheling, son to Edward the outlaw, grandchild to Edmond Ironside king of England^c: but he being tender in age, and (as it seems) soft in temper, and of a foreign garb, because of his education in Hungary, (his most potent alliance in Germany out of distance to send him seasonable assistance,) was passed by by the English nobility. These chose Harold to be king, whose title to the crown is not worth our deriving of it, much less his relying on it^d. But having endeared martialists by his valour, engaged courtiers by his bounty, and obliged all sorts of people by his affability, he was advanced to the crown by those who more considered his ability to defend, than his right to deserve it.

A. D. 1066.
i Haroldi.

Harold
usurpeth
the crown.

40. William duke of Normandy was competitor

William
duke of

^c [He experienced the fickleness of fortune: for he was chosen king by a party after the death of Harold. Malsb. *De Gestis*, f. 52. He was an old man, living retiredly in the country, almost decrepit when Malsbury wrote his Chronicle, which was as late as the middle of the twelfth century.]

^d [If however the chronicle of Florence of Worcester may be trusted, Harold was the undoubted heir to the throne, and appointed to it by Edward. It is also observable that the expression used by this chronicler to describe Harold's succession

is the same with that used to denote the accession of a lawful sovereign:—"Subregulus Haroldus Godwini ducis filius, quem rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat a totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus." a. 1066. The same is stated in the *Hist. Eliensis*, ii. 43. ed. Gale; and both agree in commendation of Harold.

According to Malsbury, he appointed William, who was his cousin, to succeed him. *De Gest.* f. 52, b.]

A. D. 1066. with Harold, who supplying in number what he wanted in strength of his titles, claimed the crown by alliance, adoption, and donation from Edward the Confessor; though he was as unable to give and bequeath, as William, being a bastard, in the strictness of Saxon laws, was incapable to receive it. But his sword was stronger than his titles, and the sins of the English more forcible than either, to deliver that nation (now grown, as authors observe, intolerably vicious) into his subjection. So that in a pitched field he overcame and killed king Harold, with the prime of the English nobility; (a just punishment on their perjury for their deserting their lawful prince;) and such as survived were forced either to hold the stirrup, or lackey by the side of many a mean-born Norman, mounted to places of profit and honour. This was the fifth time wherein the south of this island was conquered; first, by Romans; secondly, by Picts and Scots; thirdly, by Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes; and fifthly, by the Normans. This mindeth me of the prophet Elisha's speech to Joash king of Israel; *Thou shouldest have smitten Syria five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it*^e. It seemeth five may, but six must dispatch a people. God hath already smitten this island five times with a rod of foreign invasion; let us beware the sixth time, that final, fatal number, for fear it prove the last, and utter confusion and destruction of our nation.

William rebateth his conquering sword with composition.

41. Thus king William came in by conquest, though in the latter part of his reign, growing more mild and moderate, he twisted his right of victory

^e 2 Kings xiii. 19.

with composition : as such who have ravished a woman against her will endeavour afterwards to make her reparation by wooing and wedding her, whom formerly they had wronged ; so with love to cover their lust, by the most excusable way of marriage. So king William, though he had forced this land, yet afterwards, not so much out of remorse as policy, to suppress frequent tumults, and procure security to himself and successors, is said to have closed with the commons in a fair way of agreement, restoring many ancient privileges unto them. Thus, though conquest was more honourable for his credit, composition was comfortable for his conscience, and accounted most safe for his posterity. Witness that judicial sentence which king William in open court pronounced against himself, adjudging the lord of Sharnborn in Norfolk^f, being an Englishman, true owner of that manor, contrary to that grant wherein he had formerly bestowed it on one Warren a Norman. Herein the conqueror confessed himself conquered, submitting his arbitrary power and pleasure to be regulated by justice, and the ancient rights of Englishmen.

42. But what impression the Norman victories made on the state, let politicians observe ; what change it produced in the laws, we leave to the learned of that faculty to prosecute : whilst that which renders the conquest to consideration in our church-story is, the manifest change of religion from what formerly was publicly professed in England. To make this mutation in its due time more conspicuous, we will here conclude this book with a brief

A.D. 1066.
1 Haroldi.

A breviate
of the doctrine of
England in
these ages
before the
Norman
conquest.

^f Camden's *Britannia* in Norfolk, [p. 350.]

A. D. 1066. character of the principal doctrines generally taught
 1 Haroldi. and believed by the English in these four last centuries, before tainted with any Norman infection. For though we must confess and bemoan that corruptions crept into the church by degrees, and divine worship began to be clogged with superstitious ceremonies, yet that the doctrine remained still sound and entire, in most material points, will appear by an induction of the dominative controversies wherein we differ from the church of Rome.

I. *Scripture generally read.*

For such as were with the holy bishop Aidan, *sive attonsi seu laici*^g, either clergy or laity, were tied to exercise themselves in reading the holy word, and learning of psalms.

The original preferred.

For Ricemarch a Briton, a right learned and godly clerk^h, son to Sulgen bishop of St. David's, flourishing in this age, made this epigram on those who translated the psalter out of the Greek, so taking it at the second hand, and not drawing it immediately out of the first vessel.

Ebreis nablam custodit litera signis,
 Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
 Edidit, innumeros lingua variante libellos,
 Ebreumque jubar suffuscat nube Latina.
 Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
 Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebreo fonte repletus,
 Lucidius nudat verum, breviusque ministratⁱ.

^g Bede, Eccles. Hist. iii. 5.

^h Caradoc. in Chron. of Cambridge. [See the translation of this Chron. published by

Dr. Powell, page 156. edit. 1584.]

ⁱ MS. in the library of the learned bishop, William Bedel,

This harp the holy Hebrew text doth tender,
 Which, to their power, whilst every one doth render
 In Latin tongue with many variations,
 He clouds the Hebrew rays with his translations.
 Thus liquors when twice shifted out, and pour'd
 In a third vessel, are both cool'd and sour'd.
 But holy Jerome truth to light doth bring
 Briefer and fuller, fetch'd from the Hebrew spring.

A. D. 1066.
 † Haroldi.

*No prayers for the dead in the modern notion of
 papists.*

For though we find prayers for the dead, yet they were not in the nature of propitiation for their sins, or to procure relaxation from their sufferings; but were only an honourable commemoration of their memories, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation. Thus St. Cuthbert, after he had seen the soul of one Hadwaldus carried by angels into heaven, did celebrate obsequies of prayers in his behalf^k.

Purgatory, though newly hatched, not yet fledged.

For although there are frequent visions and revelations in this age pretended, thereon to build purgatory, which had no foundation in scripture, yet the architects of that fanciful fabric had not so handsomely contrived it, as it stands at this day in the Romish belief. For Bede, out of the vision of Furseus, relateth certain great fires above the air, appointed to examine every one according to the merits of his work, differing from the papist's purgatory^l; which Bellarmine, by the common consent of the schoolmen, determineth to be within the bowels

and cited by the archbishop of
 Armagh in the Religion of the
 Ancient Irish, p. 9.

^k Bede in Vita Cuthberti,
 cap. 34.

^l Hist. Eccl. iii. 19.

A. D. 1066. of the earth. Thus nothing can be invented and
Haroldi. perfected at once.

Communion under both kinds.

For Bede relateth, that one Hildmer, an officer of Ecgfrid king of Northumberland, entreated our Cuthbert to send a priest that might minister the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood unto his wife, that then lay a dying^m. And Cuthbert himself, immediately before his own departure out of this life, received the communion of the Lord's body and blood. And lest any should fondly hope to decline so pregnant an instance by the novel conceit of concomitancy, (a distinction that could not speak, because it was not born in that age,) it is punctually noted, that he distinctly received the cup.

Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum
 Sanguine munit iter——ⁿ

His voyage steep the easier to climb up,
 Christ's blood he drank out of life's healthful cup.

So that the eucharist was then admitted entire, and not maimed, as it is by papists at this day, serving it, as Hanon the Ammonite did the clothes and beards of David's ambassadors, cutting it off at the middle°. And though the word *mass* was frequent in that age, generally expressing all divine service, yet was it not known to be offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

The au-
 thor's en-
 gagement
 to the arch-
 bishop of

43. But if any desire further information herein, let him repair to the worthy work, which James, the right learned and pious archbishop of Armagh, hath

^m De vita Cuthberti, c. 15.

ⁿ Idem in vita Cuthberti carmine, c. 36.

^o 2 Sam. x. 4.

written of the religion professed by the ancient Irish and British. From whom I have borrowed many a note, (though not always thanking him in the margin by citing his name,) and therefore now must make one general acknowledgment of my engagement. In cities we see, that such as sell by retail (though of less credit) are of great use, especially to poor people, in parcelling out pennyworths of commodities to them whose purses cannot extend to buy by wholesale from the merchant. Conceive I in like manner my pains will not be altogether unprofitable, who in this history have fetched my wares from the storehouse of that reverend prelate, the Cape-merchant of all learning, and here in little remnants deliver them out to petty-country-chapmen, who hitherto have not had the hap or happiness to understand the original treasures whence they are taken. And clean through this work in point of chronology I have with implicit faith followed his computation, setting my watch by his dial, knowing his dial to be set by the sun, and account most exactly calculated, according to the critical truth of time^p. Long may he live for the glory of God, and good of his church. For whereas many learned men, though they be deep abysses of knowledge, yet (like the Caspian sea, receiving all, and having no outlet) are loath to impart aught to others; this bright sun is as bountiful to deal abroad his beams, as such dark dales as myself are glad and delighted to receive them.

^p In his book *De Brit. Eccl.* which work he has given a *Primordiū*. [At the end of chronology of these times.]

SEVERAL COPIES OF BATTEL ABBEY ROLL.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR SIMON ARCHER, OF TAMWORTH IN WARWICKSHIRE^a.

Some report, that the toad before her death sucks up (if not prevented with sudden surprisal) the precious stone (as yet but a jelly) in her head, grudging mankind the good thereof. Such generally the envy of antiquaries, preferring that their rarities should die with them, and be buried in their graves, rather than others receive any benefit thereby.

You cross the current of common corruption; it being questionable whether you be more skilful in knowing, careful in keeping, or courteous in communicating your curious collections in that kind.

Justly therefore have I dedicated these several copies of Battel Abbey roll unto you: first, because I have received one of the most authentic of them from your own hand^b; secondly, because your ancient name chargeth through and through most of these catalogues. Yea, as the archers came over with the Conqueror, so the Conqueror

^a [Arms: azure, three arrows erect, or, two and one; impaling Ferrers, vairé, or and gules. Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth in cō. Warwick, knight, was descended of an ancient family seated there for many generations, being the fourteenth in lineal descent from Robert Archer of Tamworth, by Selida, daughter and heir of Roger de Hulehall. He was the eldest son and heir of Andrew Archer of Tamworth,

esq., by his wife Margaret, daughter of Simon Rawley of Farnborough, cō. Wilts; was born in 1583, married Ann, daughter of sir John Ferrers of Tamworth-castle, knight, knighted before 1651, and died 1664, in his eighty-first year. See Visitations of Warwickshire, 1619-1683. By his said wife he had issue, three sons and as many daughters. B.]

^b [See p. 429, &c.]

may be said to come over with the archers, (therefore placed in a list by themselves,) because their valour achieved the greatest part of his victory.



ERUSING the worthy pains of grave The design propounded and asserted. and godly Mr. Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, I find him in the reign of William the First exemplifying a double catalogue of such eminent persons as came over at the conquest. Now, seeing so reverend a writer accounted the inserting thereof no deviation from his church-history, we presume accordingly, by way of recreation of the reader, to present him with a larger list of those names, with some brief notes thereupon.

Here will I premise nothing about the ancient Imposing of names denotes dominion. original of names, which argued the undoubted dominion of him who first gave them, over those on whom they were imposed. Thus Eve named Cain^a; to shew the command, even of the mother, over the eldest (and therefore over all her) children. Adam named Eve, *she shall be called woman*^b; to signify the husband's sovereignty over his wife. God named Adam, *Let us make Adam*, or *man*^c; to denote his power and authority over man. And God named himself, *I AM hath sent me unto you*^d; importing his absolute and independent being in, and from himself. But waving what may be said of the beginning of names, we shall digest what we conceive necessary for our present purpose, into the following propositions:

The first is; surnames were fixed in families in Fixed surnames not

^a Gen. iv. 1.

^b Gen. ii. 23.

^c Gen. i. 26.

^d Exod. iii. 14.

long before
the con-
quest.

England, at or about the conquest. I say, fixed. Formerly, though men had surnames, yet their sons did not, as I may say, follow suit with their fathers, the name descended not hereditarily on the family. At or about. Forty years under or over will break no squares. It began somewhat sooner in the Confessor's time, fetched out of France, but not universally settled till some hundred years after. When men therefore tell us how their surnames have been fastened on their families some centuries of years before the conquest, we hear them say so. His chronology was no better than his heraldry, who boasted that his ancestors had given the three gun-holes (which indeed were the three annulets) for their arms these thousand years, when guns themselves have not been extant three hundred years in Europe. The same solecism in effect is committed by such who pretend to the antiquity of surnames before the same were settled *in rerum natura*.

Surnames
late in (be-
cause not
needful to)
kings.

The second; kings had fixed surnames later than common people. Our four first Norman kings had no surnames, Henry the Second being the first of the Plantagenists. Wonder not that a genteel fashion should come later into the court than into the country, and last to the crown itself. For names being made to distinguish men, they were more necessary for common people, whose obscurities would be lost in a multitude, were they not found out by the sign of their surnames, having no other eminency whereby they might be differenced. But princes (being comparatively few in respect of private persons) are sufficiently discovered by their own lustre, and sovereignty may be said to be a surname to itself; and therefore kings, not of necessity, but

mere pleasure, have accepted additions to their Christian names.

The third ; many who came over out of Normandy were noble in their native country. Especially such who are styled from their places, as le sire de Soteville, le sire de Margneville, le sire de Tancarville, &c., whereby we understand them lords and owners of such manors, towns, and castles from whence they took their denomination. However, this particle *de* such a place (when without *le sire* going before it) doth not always give "livery and seisin," and presently put the person so named into possession of the place ; sometimes barely importing that he was born there, and not owner thereof.

Many of the Normans most noble by birth.

The fourth ; all that came over with the Conqueror were not gentlemen until they came over with the Conqueror. For instantly upon their victory, their flesh was refined, blood clarified, spirits elevated to an higher purity and perfection. Many a peasant in Normandy commenced monsieur by coming over into England, where they quickly got goods to their gentry, lands to their goods, and those of the most honourable tenure *in capite* itself. What Richard the Third said, no less spitefully than falsely, of the Woodviles, (brethren to the wife of his brother king Edward the Fourth, by whom they were advanced,) that "many were made noble who formerly were not "worth a noble," was most true of some of the Norman soldiery, suddenly starting up honourable from mean originals. These cruelly insulted over the Saxon ancient gentry whom they found in England. Thus on the new casting of a die, when ace is on the top, sise must needs be at the bottom.

Yet some not so much as gentlemen.

The fifth ; besides native Normans, many of the neighbouring countries engaged in England's in-

Many of the neighbouring nations.

tions under
the notion
of Nor-
mans.

vasion. As Flemings, which Baldwin earl of Flanders, and father-in-law unto the conqueror, sent to aid him: Walloons, with many from Picardy, Britain, Anjou, and the very heart of France. Thus when a fair of honour and profit is proclaimed, chapmen will flock from all parts unto it. Some will wonder that any would be such wilful losers as to exchange France for England, a garden for a field. Was not this degrading of their souls in point of pleasure, going backward from wine to ale, from wheat to oats, then the general bread-corn of England? Besides, coming Northward, they left the sun on their backs; the sun, who is a comfortable usher to go before, but bad train-bearer to come behind one. But let such know, that England in itself is an excellent country, too good for the unthankful people which live therein, and such foreigners, who seemingly slight, secretly love, and like the plenty and profit thereof. But, grant England far short of France in goodness, yet such adventurers hoped to achieve to themselves a better condition in a worse country. Many a younger brother came over hither in hope here to find an elder brothership, and accordingly procured an inheritance to him and his posterity. As for the great French nobility, store was no sore unto them: such pluralists retained still their old patrimonies in France, with the additions of their new possessions in England.

W-names.
Walloons.

The sixth; names coming over with the conquest beginning with *W* were not out of France, but the vicinage thereof. As the Britons disclaim *X*, the Latins *Y*, (save when the badge of a Greek word Latinized,) so the French disown *W*. When we find it therefore the initial letter of a name, whereof many occur in the ensuing catalogue, it argueth the

same Walloon, or Almain. Yea, I am credibly informed, that some of the English here, wearied with Harold's usurpation, fled over into Normandy to fetch in the conqueror; so that when king William entered, they returned into England. And this particularly hath been avouched of the noble family of the Wakes, who were here before the conquest, yet found among the Norman invaders.

The seventh; Battel-abbey roll is the best extant catalogue of Norman gentry, if a true copy thereof could be procured. The twilight credit of Battel Abbey roll.

1. Battel-abbey roll. Because hung up in that abbey, as fixed to the freehold thereof, where the names of such as came over with the conquest were recorded.

2. Best extant. Otherwise industry, with honesty, leisure, and liberty to peruse Domesday-book, might collect one more perfect out of impartial records, which neither fear nor flatter. Such a catalogue were to be believed on its word, before battle roll on its oath.

3. Yet that abbey roll deserved credit, if a true copy might be procured. One asked, "Which was the best St. Augustine?" to whom this answer was given, (generally true of all ancient authors,) "even that Augustine which is least corrected." For corrections commonly are corruptive, as following the fancy and humour of the corrector.

Battel-abbey roll hath been practised upon with all the figures of diction, prothesis, aphæresis, &c.; some names therein being augmented, subtracted, extended, contracted, lengthened, curtailed. The same scruple therefore which troubleth sophisters, "Whether Jason's weather-beaten ship, so often clouted and patched with new boards, were the

“same numerically with the first;” may be propounded of Battel-abbey roll, whether that extant with us, after so many alterations, be individually the same with the original? See what a deadly gash our great antiquary^e gives to the credit thereof; “Whosoever considereth it well, shall find it to be “forged, and those names to be inserted, which the “time in every age favoured, and were never mentioned in that authenthical record.”

(Nj. Then
it is of no
credit.

Obj. If such be the depraving of Battel-abbey roll, then no credit at all is due unto it. Let it be pilloried for a mere cheat, and be suffered no longer to go about, to deceive the honest reader thereof; seeing we cannot hear the true tone of names therein, monks have so set them to the tune of their present benefactors and minions of the age they lived in.

Ans. How
credit there-
unto is to
be cau-
tioned.

Ans. Though there be much adulteration therein, yet I conceive the main bulk and body thereof uncorrupted. As they therefore overvalue this roll who make it the grammar of French gentry, the herald's institutes, and of canonical credit amongst them, so such too much decry the same, who deny all trust thereunto. Yea, we may confidently rely on this roll, where we find a concurrence of ancient English historians therewith: and this will appear in the generality of names which that roll presenteth unto us.

We find in our English chroniclers two printed copies (a manuscript thereof worth mentioning I have not met with) of Battel-abbey roll. Wherein

^e Camden in his Remains, p. 152. [ed. 1614. No doubt can exist of the correctness of Camden's assertion. No two copies exist alike of this roll; and most of them are interpolated with names of families of

English origin. See another copy in the Scala Chronica, p. 12. (Unpublished; printed for the Maitland Club. 1836.)] I have ranged similar names opposite each other.]

such various lections, they agree neither in number, order, nor spelling of the names; which, though generally digested in an alphabetical way, are neither of them exactly ordered according to the same. But behold both.

Holinshed, p. 3.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.	Holinshed, p. 3.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.
Aumarle	Aumeic	Bigot	
Aincourt		Bohun	Bohun
Audeley	Audeley	Bailif	Baylife
Angilliam	Angilliam	Bondeuile	Bondeuile
Argentoun	Argentoun	Brabason	Barbason
Arundell	Arundell	Baskeruile	
Auenant	Auenant		Beer
Abell	Abel	Bures	Bures
Auuerne		Bounilaine	Bonylayne
Aunwers		Bois	
Angers	Awgers	Botelere	
Angenoun	Angernoun	Bourcher	
Archere	Archer	Brabaion	Barbayon
Anuay		Berners	Berners
Asperuile	Asperuile	Braibuf	Braybuf
Albeuile		Brande	Brand
Andeuile		Bronce	
Amouerduile	Amonerduile		Bonuile
Arcy	Arcy	Burgh	Burgh
Albeny	Albeny	Bushy	Busshy
Akeny	Akeny	Banet	
Aybeuare		Blondell	Blundell
Amay		Breton	Breton
Asperemound	Asperemound		Belasyse
Amerenges.			Bowser
			Bayons
			Bulmere
Bertram	Bertram	Bluat	
Buttecourt	Butrecourt	Baious	
Brebus	Bræhus	Browne	Broune
Byseg	Byseg	Beke	Beke
Bardolfe	Bardolf	Bickard	
Basset	Basset		Bowlers

Holinshed, p. 3.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.	Holinshed, p. 3.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.
Banastre	Banestre	Boranuile	
Baloun		Browe	
	Belomy	Beleuers	Beleners
	Belknap	Buffard	Buffard
Beauchampe	Beauchamp	Botelere	Boteler
Bray		Bonueier	
Bandy	Bandy	Boteuile	Botuile
Bracy		Bellire	
Boundes		Bastard	
Bascoun		Bainard	
Broilem		Brasard	Brasard
Broleuy	Broyleby	Beelhelme	Belhelme
Burnell	Burnell	Braine	
Bellet	Belot	Brent	
	Beufort	Braunch	Braunche
Baudewin	Baudewine	Belesuz	Bolesur
Beaumont		Blundell	Blundel
Burdon	Burdon	Burdett	Burdet
Berteuila	Berteuyley	Bagott	Bagot
Barre	Barre		Beaupount
Busseuile	Busseuile	Beauuise	
Blunt	Blunt	Belemis	
Baupere	Beawper	Beisin	
Beuill		Bernon	
Barduedor		Boels	Bools
Brette	Bret	Belefroun	Belefroun
Barrett	Barret	Brutz	
Bonrett		Barchampe	Barchampe
Bainard			
Barniuale	Barneuale		
Bonett		Camois	Camos
Barry	Barry	Camuile	Canuille
Bryan		Chawent	Chawent
Bodin	Bodyt	Chauncy	Chancy
Berteuile	Berteuile	Conderay	Couderay
Bertin	Bertine	Coluile	Coluile
Bereneuile		Chamberlaine	Chamberlaine
Bellewe	Belew	Chambernoun	Chambernounge
Beuery		Comin	
Busshell	Bushell	Columber	

Holinshed, p. 3.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.
Cribett	Cribet	Cherecourt	Cherecourt
Creuquere		Cammile	Chaunuile
Corbine	Corbine	Clerenay	Clereney
Corbett	Corbet	Curly	Curley
	Coniers	Cuily	
Chaundos	Chaundos	Clinels	
	Coucy	Chaundos	
Chaworth	Chaworthe	Courteney	
Cleremaus	Claremaus	Clifford	Clifford
Clarell	Clarell		
Chopis		Denauille	Deanuile
	Camuine	Dercy	Dercy
Chaunduit	Chaunduyt	Dine	Dine
	Claruaays	Dispencere	Dispencer
Chantelow	Chantilowe	Daubeney	
Chamberay		Daniell	Daniell
	Colet	Deuise	Deuyse
Cressy	Cressy	Druell	Druell
Curtenay	Courtenay	Deuaus	Deuaus
Conestable	Constable	Dauers	Dauers
	Chaucer	Dodingsels	Doningsels
Cholmeley	Cholmelay	Darell	Darell
Champney	Champeney	Delaber	De la Bere
Chawnos	Chawnos	Delapole	De la Pole
Comiuile	Corneville	Delalinde	De la Lind
Champaine	Champaine	Delahill	De la Hill
	Carew	Delaware	De la Ware
Careuile	Claruaile	Delauache	De la Watch
Carbonelle	Carbonell	Dakeny	Dakeny
Charles	Charles	Dauntre	Dauntre
Chereberge	Chareberge	Desny	Desnye
Chawnes	Chawnes	Dabernounce	Dabernounce
Chawmont	Chawmont	Damry	Damry
Caperoun		Daueros	Daueros
Cheine	Cheyne	Dauonge	
Curson	Cursen	Duilby	
Couille,	Couell	Delauere	De la Vere
Chaiters	Chayters	Delahoid	
Cheines	Cheynes	Durange	
Cateray	Cateray	Delee	De Liele

Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 105.
Delaund		Fitz-Pain	Fitz-Payne
Delaward	De la Warde	Fitz-Auger	
Delaplanch	De la Planch	Fitz-Aleyn	Fitz-Alyne
Damnot		Fitz-Rauff	Fitz-Raulfe
Danway	Danway	Fitz-Browne	Fitz-Browne
Dehense	De Hewse	Fouke	Foke
Deuile		Freuil	Freuile
Disard	Disard	Front de Boef	
Doiuille		Facunberge	Faconbridge
Durant	Durant	Fort	
Drury	Drury	Frisell	Frissell
Dabitott		Fitz-Simon	
Dunsteruile		Fitz-Fouk	
Dunchampe		Filioll	Filioll
Dambelton		Fitz-Thomas	Fitz-Thomas
		Fitz-Morice	Fitz-Morice
Estrange	Estrange	Fitz-Hugh	Fitz-Hughe
Estuteuile	Estutaule	Fitz-Henrie	
Engaine	Engayne	Fitz-Warren	Fitz-Warren
Estriels	Estriols	Fitz-Rainold	
	Euers	Flamuile	Faunuile
Esturney	Esturney	Formay	Formay
		Fitz-Eustach	
Ferrerers		Fitz-Laurence	
Foluille	Foluile	Formiband	Formiband
Fitz-Water	Fitz-Water	Frisound	Frison
Fitz-Marma-	Fitz-Marma-	Finere	Finer
duke	duke	Fitz-Robert	Fitz-Robert
Fleucz			Fitz-Urcy
Filberd	Fibert	Furniuale	Furniuall
Fitz-Roger	Fitz-Roger	Fitz-Geffrey	
Fanecourt	Fanecourt	Fitz-Herbert	Fitz-Herbert
Ferrers		Fitz-Peres	
Fitz-Philip	Fitz-Philip	Fichet	
Filiot		Fitz-Rewes	
Furniueus		Fitz-Fitz	
Furniuauus		Fitz-John	Fitz-John
Fitz-Otes		Fleschampe	
Fitz-William	Fitz-William		
Fitz-Roand		Gurnay	

Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.
Gressy	Gargraue	Hercy	
Graunson	Graunson	Herioun	
Gracy	Gracy	Herne	Herne
Georges		Harecourt	
	Glaunvile	Henoure	
Gower	Gouer	Houell	
Gaugy		Hamelin	Hamelyn
Goband		Harewell	Harewell
	Gascoyne	Hardell	Hardel
Gray	Gray	Haket	Hecket
Gaunson		Hamound	Hamound
Golofre	Golofer	Harcord	Harecord
Gobion		Jarden	Jarden
Grensy		Jay	Jay
Graunt	Grauns	Jeniels	
Greile		Jerconuise	
Greuet		Januile	Janvile
Gurry		Jasperuile	Jasperville
Gurley	Gurly		
Grammori		Kaunt	
Gernoun		Karre	Karre
Grendon		Karrowe	Karron
Gurdon	Gurdon	Keine	
Gines		Kimaronne	
Griuel		Kiriell	Kyriell
Greneuile		Kancey	
Glateuile		Kenelre	
Gurney			
Giffard		Loueny	Levony
Gouerges			Lestrangle
Gamages	Gamages	Lacy	
	Gaunt	Linneby	
		Latomer	Latomere
Hauntenev		Loueday	Loueday
Haunsard	Hansard	Logenton	
Hastings	Hastings	Louell	Levell
Haulay	Haulay		Le Scrope
Haurell		Lemare	Lemare
Husee	Husie	Leuetot	

Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.
	Litterile		Musgraue
Lucy	Lucy		Menilebillers
Luny		Mortimaine	Mortimaine
	Lislay or Liele	Muse	Muse
Longespes	Longespes	Mountbother	Mountbocher
Louerace		Maleuile	Maleville
Longechampe	Longschampe	Martaine	Martaine
Lascales	Lascels	Mountsoler	
Lacy		Malet	
Louan		Mounteney	Mountney
Leded		Monfichet	
	Lindsey	Maleherbe	Maleherbe
Logeuile		Mare	
Luse		Musegros	Musgros
	Le Vawse	Musarde	Musard
Loterell	Loterell	Moine	
Loruge		Montrauers	Mautravers
Longueale	Longuaile	Merke	Merke
Loy	Loy	Murres	Murres
Lorancourt		Mortiuale	
Loions		Monchenesy	
Limers			Montague
Longepay			Mantalent
Laumale			Manle
Lane	Lane	Mallory	Malory
Louetot		Marny	Merny
	Le Dispenser	Mountagu	
Mohant		Mountford	
Mowne		Maule	Mauley
Maundeuille		Monhermon	
Marmilon	Marmilon	Musett	Muffet
Moribray	Moribray	Meneuile	
Moruile	Morvile	Manteuenant	
Miriell		Manfe	
Manlay	Manley	Menpincoy	Menpincoy
Malebraunch	Malebranch	Maine	
Malemaine	Malemaine	Mainard	Mainard
Mortimere		Morell	Morell
	Muschampe		Morley
		Mainell	

Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.
Maleluse		Noers	
Memorous		Neuile	Nevile
Morreis		Newmarch	Neumarch
Morleian			Norton
Maine		Norbet	Norbet
Maleuere		Norice	Norece
Mandut	Mandute	Newborough	Newborough
Mountmarten	Mountmartin	Neiremet	
Mantelet		Neile	Neele
Miners	Myners	Normaule	Normanvile
Mauclerke		Neofmarche	
Maunchenell		Nermitz	
Mouet		Nembrutz	
Meintenore			
Meletak		Oteuel	Oteuel
Manuile		Olibet	Olibef
Mangisere		Olifant	Olifaunt
Maumasin		Osenel	
Mountlouel		Oisell	Oysell
Mawrewarde		Olifard	Oliford
Mouhaut		Orinall	
Meller		Orioll	Oryoll
Mountgomerie			
Manlay		Pigot	Pigot
Maularde		Per[c]y	Percy
Mainard		Perepount	Perepount
Menere		Pershale	Pershale
Martinast		Power	Power
Mare		Painell	Paynel
Mainwaring	Mainwaring	Perche	Peche
Matelay		Pauey	
	Mantell	Peurell	Peverell
Malemis		Perot	Perot
Maleheire		Picard	Picard
Moren			Pudsey
Melun		Pinkenie	
Marceans		Pomeray	Pimeray
Maiell	Mayel	Pounce	Pounsey
Morton	Morton	Pauely	
		Paifrere	

Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.	Holinshed, p. 4.	Stow's Chr. p. 106.
Plukenet		Risers	
Phuars		Randuile	
Punchardoun	Punchardon	Roselin	
Pinchard	Pynchard	Rastoke	
Placy	Placy	Rinuill	
Pugoy		Rougere	
Patefinc		Rait	
Place		Ripere	
	Patine	Rigny	
Pampilioun	Pampilion	Richemound	Richmond
Percelay		Rochford	Rochford
Perere		Raimond	Reymond
Pekeney	Pekeney		
Poterell	Poterell	Souch	Seuche
Peukeny		Sheuile	
Peccell		Seucheus	
Pinell		Senclere	
Putrill		Sent Quintin	Seint Quintine
Petivoll		Sent Omere	Seint Omer
Preaus		Sent Amond	Seint Amond
Pantolf		Sent Legere	Seint Leger
Peito		Somervuile	Somervile
	Pervinke	Siward	
Penecord	Penicord	Saunsouere	
Prendirlegast		Sanford	Sanford
Percivale		Sanctes	
		Sauay	
Quincy	Quincy	Saulay	
Quintiny	Quintine	Sules	
		Sorell	
Ros	Rose	Somerey	Somery
Ridell	Ridle	Sent John	
Riuers		Sent George	Seint George
Riuell	Ryuel	Sent Les	Seint Les
Rous	Rous	Sesse	
Rushell	Russel	Saluin	Savine
Raband		Say	
Ronde	Rond	Solers	
Rie		Saulay	
Rokell			Seint Glo

Holinshed, p. 5.	Stow's Chr. p. 107.	Holinshed, p. 5.	Stow's Chr. p. 107.
Sent Albin	Seint Albine	Tolet	Tolet
Sent Martin		Travers	Travers
Sourdemale		Taverner	Taverner
Seguin		Trencheville	
Sent Barbe	Seint Barbe	Trenchelion	
Sent Vile	Sandevile	Tankervile	
Souremount		Tirel	Tirel
Soreglise		Trivet	
Sandvile		Tardeville	
Sauncey		Turburville	
Sirewast		Tineville	
Sent Cheverel		Torel	Torel
Sent More	Seint More	Tortechappel	
Sent Scude-	Seint Scude-	Trusbote	
more	more	Treverel	
		Tenwis	
		Totelles	Totels
	Towrs		
Toget	Toget	Vere	Vere
Tercy		Vernoun	Vernoun
	Talybois	Vescy	
Tuchet	Tuchet	Verdoun	Verdon
Tracy		Valence	Valence
	Truslot		Vancord
Trousbut	Trusbut	Verdeire	Verder
Trainel	Traynel	Vavasour	Vavasour
Taket	Taket	Vendore	Vender
Trison		Verlay	Verlay
Talbot	Talbot	Valenger	
Touny		Venables	Venables
Traies		Venoure	Venoure
Trussel	Trussel	Vilan	Vilan
Tollemach		Verland	Verland
Tolous		Valers	
Tanny	Tanny	Veirny	Verny
Touke		Vavurvil	
Tibtote	Tibtote	Veniels	
Turbevile	Turbevile	Verrere	
Turvile	Turvile	Uschere	
Tomy			

Holinshed, p. 5.	Stow's Chr. p. 107.	Holinshed, p. 5.	Stow's Chr. p. 107.
Veffay		Valenges	
Vanay			
Vian		Wardebois	Wardebus
Vernoys	Vernois		Walenger
	Umframvile	Ward	Warde
Urnal	Urnull	Wafre	
Unket	Unket	Wake	Wake
Urnaful		Wareine	Waren
Vasderol		Wate	Wate
Vaberon		Watelin	Wateline
Valingford		Watevile	Watevile
Venicorde		Wely	Woly
Valive		Werdonel	
Viville		Wespaile	
Vancorde	Vancord	Wivell	Wyvel.

The total sum of all in Ralph Holinshed, 629.

The total sum of all in John Stow, 607.

Besides this roll of Battel-abbey, there is another extant, not, as this, alphabetically modelled, the work of some monk well at leisure, but loose, without any literal order. An argument, in my opinion, of the more native purity thereof, less soiled with partial fingers, as not so much tampered with by art and industry. It is reputed by many to be the muster-roll of such principal soldiers as embarked with duke William at St. Valeries: and it is said that after the fight ended, this list was called over, and all persons solemnly summoned to answer to their names therein; though many made no *vous-avez*, as either sick of their wounds, or slain outright amongst the six thousand and odd which lost their lives on the place. Were we assured hereof, we would prefer this before the former roll, believing a

French muster-master rather than any English monk, (though the abbot of Battel himself,) as not so subject to the suspicion of English flattery herein. This catalogue is taken out of Guilliaume Tayleur, a Norman chronicler of good credit; but the worst is, we want Tayleur's French original, and I fear it hath passed through some botcher's hands before it came to us. For there be three editions thereof in our English historians, which, like the feet of a badger, fall out of unequal length, if the reader be pleased to measure them, so different the number of names therein. However, because this catalogue may conduce to the supplying of defects, clearing of doubts, and amending of faults in that former, we here present the several copies thereof^a.

^a [I have ventured to diverge a little from the text in printing the following names. The lists as given by Fox and Stow stand in the same order as before, but the arrangement of that from Holinshed has been slightly varied, in order that like names might stand on the same line, and so the reader be enabled at a glance to observe the discrepancies of the various chroniclers. The list from Fox agrees, as far as I can discover, more nearly than the others with the ancient copies of the Roll; and

next to this, the one from Holinshed. The greater number of names in the last mentioned writer is remarkable; some are merely repeated with a slight variation in the spelling; and these have been placed together for the convenience of the reader. Stow's list is full of misprints; the grossest of which I have ventured to correct. Other copies of the Roll and lists of names will be found at the end of Du Chesne's *Scriptores Normanici*, and in Wace's *Chronicle*, which has of late been very judiciously edited.]

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.	Stow, Chron. p. 103.	Holinshed, Chron. p. 2.
Odo bishop of Bayeux	Odo bishop of Bayon	Odo bishop of Bayeux
Robert count de Mortaigne, duke William's half brethren.	Robert earl of Mortaigne	Robert earl of Mortaing
Baudwin de Buillon	Bandonni de Buillon	
Roger count de Beaumont, surnamed with the beard.	Roger earl of Beaumont with the beard	Roger earl of Beaumont, surnamed a la Barbe
Guillaume Malet	Guilliam Mallet	Guillaume Mallet
	Guil. Fitz Osberne	
Le sire de Monfort sur Rille	Le sire de Montfort sus Rille	seig. de Montfort
Guil. de Viexpont	Guil. de Vielz pont	Guil. de Vepont
Neel de S. Saver le Viconte	Neel de Saint Saver le vicont	Neel le viconte
Le sire de Fougiers	Le sire de Feugiers	seig. de Fougieres
Henry Seigneur de Ferieres	Henry sire de Ferrers	Henry seign. de Ferrers
Le sire Daubemare	Le sire Dambemare	Guil. d'Aubellemare
Guil. sire de Romare	Guil. sire de Romare	Guil. de Roumare
Le sire de Lithhare	Le sire de Lithare	seig. de Luthare
Le sire de Touque	Le sire de Touque	Le seig. de Touque
Le sire de la Mare	Le sire de la Mare	Le seig. de la Mare
Le sire de Neauhau	Le sire de Nahalhou	Le seig. de Neaushou
Le sire de Peirou	Le sire de Pirou	Le seig. de Perou
Rob. sire de Beaufou	Le sire de Beaufou	Robert de Beaufou
Le sire Danou	Le sire de Damnou	Le seig. Deauvon
Le sire de Stoteville	Le sire de Stoteville	Le seig. de Stoteville
Le sire de Margneville	Le sire de Margneville	Le seig. de Mauneville
Le sire de Tancarville	Le sire de Tankerville	The earl of Tanquer-vile
Eustace Dabeville	Eustace Dambleville	Eustace de Amblevile
Le sire de Magneville	Le sire de Magneville	Le seig. de Magneville
Le sire de Grantmesnil	Le sire de Grimsville	Le seig. de Grosmenil
Guil. Crespin	Guil. Crespin	Guil. Crespin
Le sire de S. Martin	Le sire de S. Martin	Le seig. de S. Martin

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.

Stow, Chron. p. 103.

Holinshed, Chron. p. 2.

Guil. de Moulins

Guil. de Moulinous

Guil. Desmoullins

Le sire de Puis

Le sire de Pins

Le seig. de Puis

**Geoffray sire de May-
enne**

**Gieffray sire de May-
enne**

**Geoffray de Maienne
Geoffray Bournom**

Onfrei de Bohon

Anfroy de Bohunt

**Onfrei, et Maugier
de Cartrai**

**Anfroy et Maugier de
Cartraict**

**Aunfray and Mauger
de Carterey**

Guil. de Garenne

Guil. de Garennes

Guil. Desgarennes

**Hue de Gournay, sire
de Bray**

**Hue de Gournay, sire
de le Bray**

**Hue de Gourney, alias
Genevay le seig. de
Bray**

**Le conte Hue de
Gournay**

**Le conte Hue de
Gournay**

Hue earl of Gourney

Eguemont de l'Aigle

Enguemount de Laigle

**Egremont de Laigle
le seig. de Laigle**

**le viconte de Touars
Rich. Dauverenchin**

**Le vicont de Touars
Rich. Douremchin**

**Le seig. de Touarz
Richard d'Aurechin
le seig. de Aurechin**

Le sire de Biars

Le sire de Biars

Le seig. de Biarz

Le sire de Solligny

Le sire de Solligny

Le seig. de Soulligny

**Le Bouteiller Dau-
bigny**

**Le Boutellier Dau-
bigny**

Boutellier d'Aubigny

Le sire de Maire

Le sire de Marre

Le seig. de Marcey

Le sire de Vitry

Le sire de Victry

Le seig. de Vitrey

Le sire de Lacy

Le sire de Lacy

Le seig. de Lachy

Le sire du val Desaire

Le sire du vall Darie

Le seig. de Valdere

Le sire de Tracy

Le sire de Tracy

**Le seig. de Trassy,
alias Tracy**

Hue sire de Montfort

Hue sire de Montfort

Eulde de Montfort

Le sire de Piquegny

Le sire de Piqgny

Le seig. de Picquigny

Hamon de Kayen

Hamon de Kayen

Henoy de Cahien

Le sire Despinay

Le sire Despinay

Le seig. d'Espinay

Le sire de Port

Le sire de Port

Osmond seig. du Port

Le sire de Corcy

Le sire de Corchy

Le seig. de Corchy

Le sire de Iort

Le sire de Jort

Le sire de Reviers

Le sire de Rivers

Guil. de Movion

Guil. Moyonne

Guil. Moyon

Guil. de Moyenne

**Raoul Taisson de Cin-
gueleiz**

**Raoul Tesson de
Chinguelois**

**Raoul Tesson de Cin-
glois**

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.

Stow, Chron. p. 103.

Holinshed, Chron. p. 2.

Roger Marmion

Rogier Marmion

Roger Marmion

Raoul de Gael

Raoul de Gael

Raoul de Gaiel

Avenal des Byars

Avenel de Biars

Avenal de Biers

Hubert Paiennel des
MonstiersParnel du Monstier
Robert HubertPaunel du Montier
Hubert

Rob. Bertran le Tort

Bertram le Tort

Rob. Bertram le Tort

Le sire de Seulle

Le sire de Seulle

Le seig. de Seulle

Le sire de Dorival

Le sire de Dorival

Le seig. Dorival

Le sire de Brehal

Le sire de Breuall

Le seig. de Brehal

Le sire de S. Jehan

Le sire de S. Jehan

Le seig. de S. John

Le sire de Bris

Le sire de Bris

Le seig. de Brys

Le sire du Homme

Le sire du Homme

Le sieg. de Houme

Le sire de Sauchhoy

Le sire de Saussay

Le sieg. de Souchoy

Le sire de Cailly

Le sire de Cailly

Le seig. de Cally

Le sire de Semilly

Le sire de Semilly

Le seig. de Semilly

Le sire de Tilly

Le sire de Tilly

Le seig. de Tilly

Le sire de Romelli

Le sire de Romely

Le seig. de Roumilly

Mar. de Basqueville

Martell de Basquevill

Le seig. de Basque-
ville

Le sire de Praels

Le sire de Proux

Le seig. de Preaux

Le sire de Govis

Le sire de Govys

Le seig. de Gouy

Le sire de Sainteauls

Le sire de Sainteaulx

Le seig. de Senlys

Le sire de Moulloy

De Mulloiy

Le seig. de Meuley

Le sire de Monceauxx

Le seig. de Monceaux

The archers du val de
Reul, and of Bre-
theul, and of many
other places.These archers of the
vale of Rueill, and
of Bretviel, and of
many other places.The archers of Bret-
uileLe sire de S. Saen, i.
de S. Sydonio

Le sire de S. Saen

Le seig. de S. Sain

Le sire de la Riviere

Le sire de la Rivier

Le seig. de la Riviere

Le sire de Salnar-
ville

Le sire de Salnaruille

Le sire de Tony

Le sire de Tony

Le seig. de Tony

Eude de Beaugieu

Eude de Beaugieu

Euldes de Beaviu

Le sire de Oillie

Le sire de Oillie

Le sire de Lacie

Le sire de Sacy

Le seig. de Sassy

Le sire de Nassie

Le sire de Nassie

Le seig. de Nassy

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.

Stow, Chron. p. 103.

Holinshed, Chron. p. 2.

Le Visdams de
Chaymes

Le Visduams de
Chaymes

Le Vidam de Chames

Le sire du Sap

Le sire de Sap

Le seig. du Sap

Le sire de Glos

Le sire Duglosse

Le seig. de Glotz

Le sire de Mine

Le sire de Nime

Le seig. de Vanville

Le sire de Glanville

Le sire de Blamville

Le seig. de Blainville

Le sire de Breencon

Le sire de Brencon

Le seig. Branchou

Le seig. de Breansou

Le Vidam de Partay

Le vidam de Partenay

Le Vidam du Passais

Raoul de Morimont

Raoult de Mormont

Pierre de Bailleul

Pierre de Bailleul

Pierre du Ballieul

sire de Fiscamp

sire de Fescamp

seig. de Fescampe

Le sire de Beaufault

Le sire de Beaufault

Le seig. Balleul

Le sire de Tillieres

Le sire de Tillieres

Le seig. de Beaufault

Le sire de Pacy

Le sire de Pacy

Le seig. de Telleres

Le Seneschal de Corcy

Le seneschall de Cor-
chy

Le seig. de Passy

Le seneschal de Cor-
chy

Le sire de Gacy

Le sire de Gacy

Le seig. Torchy

Le sire de Douilly

Le sire de Douilly

Le seig. de Gassey

Le sire de Sacy

Le sire de Sancy

Le seig. de Saussy

Le sire de Vacy

Le sire de Vacy

Le seig. de Vassey

Le sire de Tourneur

Le sire de Tourneur

Le seig. de Tourneur

Le sire de Praeres

Le sire de Praores

Le seig. de Preaux

Guil. de Coulombieres

Guilliam de Colom-
bieres

Guil. de Colombieres,
le seig. de Colom-
bieres

Hue sire de Bollebec

Hue sire de Bollebec

Le seig. de Bollebec

Rich. sire d'Orbec

Richart sire Dorbec

Richard Dorebec

Le sire de Bonneboz

Le sire de Bonnebos

Le seig. de Bonne-
bauz

Le seig. de Barnabost

Le sire de Tresgoz

Le sire de Troisgots

Le sire de Montfiquet

Le sire Mont Fiquet

Le seig. du Montfiquet

Hue le Bigot de Ma-
letot

Hue le Bigot, alias
Bigot de Maletot

Le seig. de Malletot

Le sire de la Haye

Le sire de la Haye

Le seig. de la Hay

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.

Stow, Chron. p. 103.

Holinshed, Chron. p. 1.

Le sire de Breey
 Le sire de Moubray
 Le sire de Saye
 Le sire de la Ferte
 Boutevillain
 Troussebout
 Guillaume Patric de
 la Laund

Le sire de Bracy
 Le sire de Moubray
 Le sire de Say
 Le sire de Lafert
 Bontevillain
 Troussebout
 Guilliam Patrit de la
 Land

Le seig. de la Haie
 Malerbe
 Le seig. de Breesey
 Le seig. de Moubray
 Le seig. de la Ferte
 Guil. Patris, seig. de
 la Lande

Hue de Mortemer
 Le sire Dauviller
 Le sire Donnebaut
 Le sire de S. Cler
 Rob. filz Herneys duc
 d'Orleans
 Le sire de Harecourt

Hue de Mortimer
 Le sire Donviller
 Le sire Donnebaut
 Le sire de S. Cler
 Robert le Fitz Her-
 neys duke Dorleans
 Le sire de Harecourt

Le seig. de la Lande
 Eulde de Mortimer
 Le seig. de Danvillers
 Le seig. de Ennebault
 Le seig. de S. Cler
 Rob. fils Hernays, duc
 de Orleans
 Errand earl of Har-
 court

Le sire de Crevecœur
 Le sire de Dryncourt
 Le sire de Brencort
 Le sire de Combray
 Le sire Daunay
 Le sire de Fontenay
 Le conte Deureux
 De sire de Reberchil
 Alain Fergant, conte
 de Bretagne
 Le sire de S. Vallery

Le sire Crevecure
 Le sire de Drencourt
 Le sire de Bremetot
 Le sire de Cambray
 Le sire Dauney
 Le sire Fonteney
 Le counte Deureux
 Le sire de Roberchil
 Alan Fergent counte
 de Britaigne
 Le sire de saint
 Wallery

Le seig. de Creveceur
 Le seig. de Bremetot

Le conte Dou
 Gualtier Giffard conte
 de Longueville

Le counte Dedeu
 Gualter Giffart,
 counte de Longue-
 ville

Le seig. de Fontnay
 The earl of Eureux
 Alain Fergant earl of
 Britaigne
 Le seig. de S. Valery

Le sire Destouteville
 Le conte. Thomas
 Daubmalle
 Guil. conte de Hoymes,
 et Darques

Le sire de Stouteville
 Le counte Thomas
 Daubmale
 Guil. de Hoimes et
 Darques

The earl d'Eu
 Le seig. de Longue-
 ville
 Le seig. de Longveile
 Le seig. de Estouteville
 Thomas earl d'Au-
 male
 The earl de Hiesmes

Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 236.	Stow, Chron. p. 103.	Holinshed, Chron. p. 2.
Le sire de Bereville	Le sire de Barrevile	Le seig. de Bervile
Le sire de Breante	Le sire de Breaute	Le seig. de Breaute
Le sire de Freanville	Le sire de Freanville	Le seig. de Freanville
Le sire de Pavilly	Le sire de Pauilly	Le seig. de Pavilly.
Le sire de Clere	Le sire de Clere	Le seig. de Clere
Toustan du Bac	Tostam du bec	
Le sire de Maugny	Le sire de Maugny	Le seig. de Magny
Roger de Montgomery	Roger du Montgo- mery Comes	Roger de Montgomery
Amaury de Touars.	Almary de Touaers.	Amaury de Touars.

There is still another catalogue, late in the possession of Thomas Scriven, esquire. I confess, *quantus author, tanta fides*; and the gentleman, long since dead, being generally unknown, some will question the authority thereof. But know he was a good *promus-condus* of ancient records. *Condu*s, in keeping them faithfully himself, and *promus*, in imparting them freely to others. This his catalogue is exemplified by John Stow in his chronicle. Of whom though a Cambridge comedian was pleased pleasantly to say, that “Mendacio now and then jogged on the “elbow,” yet indeed he deserveth Camden’s commendation of a famous chronicler, lacking learning rather than truth, seldom omitting what is, sometimes recording what is not observable^b. But see the catalogue^c.

^a [The name of Thomas Scriven, esq. occurs in Stow’s Survey, p. 470, as a benefactor to the parish of St. Leonard’s Shoreditch.]

^b Camden in Middlesex,

[p. 314.]

^c Stow’s Chron. p. 107. [This list is printed most inaccurately in Stow. The more remarkable blunders have been corrected in the text.]

Achard	Bracy	Curthose	Fossard
Averenges	Brenenile	Chamlin	Fresel
Aielard	Bounttuile	Costentin	Frevile
Alard	Buteville	Comthense	Fresseville
Aubeney	Beauchampe	Cozmit	Folenile
Avenel	Burnel	Challenges	Firmunde
Asprevil	Bussel	Chastlem	Fizgeffray
Audeny	Beleice	Courtney	Firpers
Akine	Bonere	Chawerd	Fitzwaters
Arcy	Bodler	Curcy	Feskampe
Amile	Botiler	Conun	Fishu
Amundivile	Bigod	Crioile	Fizurs
Abbeville	Burle	Chalers	Ferrer
Andvile	Baul	Chen	Fornitall
Albemarle	Brenbe	Chaucer	Fienes
Aubrey	Brus	Chandos	Fitzbrian
Archer	Butelem	Cunly	Frison
Bastarde	Bricourt	Curly	Ferers
Baignard	Brian	Orely	Foljambe
Barvile	Botes	Colevile	Frignes
Brassard	Bohun	Cabot	Fitzgariz
Berad	Bion	Charnel	Formentin
Boynard	Bailiol	Chamel	Grange
Baskarvile	Brocheris	Clarel	Grevile
Baret	Bardulfe	Cheinie	Gienuile
Basset	Bancan	Darcy	Gornuvile
Bars	Bussey	Dunsterville	Gemule
Belet	Beamuis	Douchampe	Gerard
Beil	Bleis	Dispenser	Giffard
Breit	Baventre	Duredent	Gondrel
Boneit	Cavile	Drivell	Gorger
Bluet	Carevile	Duket	Gomer
Brachet	Cardevile	Dreward	Gigod
Buket	Condrey	Delamare	Gaibit
Biset	Cresey	Druvall	Giptot
Blundel	Cautlon	Dela	Garin
Burdet	Caily	Deincourt	Gunter
Blete	Corbet	D'Eureus	Gray
Barry	Clare	Estetkirke	Grauntson
Berri	Curtais	Faherburt	Gournay

Greis	Lovell	Morley	Pales
Gamage	Lescei	Martinas	Prouz
Gautere	Lambert	Murdacke	Pirim
Gorge	Lenn	Metun	Peisim
Hainule	Limare	Mameisin	Parteben
Hantvile	Lisle	Mohun	Puntfrait
Humchampe	Lo	Mare	Quinci
Herebrace	Maignard	Molins	Quatrimare
Henile	Maureward	Neumarch	Russel
Herenile	Mountford	Nepunt	Ryvel
Havel	Mountague	Orniall	Rivers
Hachet	Mountbray	Osevile	Rochvile
Haket	Maundevile	Orware	Roosz
Harvy	Mortimer	Passemer	Richmount
Hanesy	Mansel	Passenaunt	Seintevile
Hussy	Maschy	Pigot	Somery
Hai	Mungomer	Poorvanger	Say
Hasard	Morvile	Pers	Suneli
Hansard	Meisy	Purcel	Sorel
Hasser	Munty	Pichard	Seteplace
Hubert	Mountein	Pypard	Spivenile
Hamelin	Mulet	Pamel	Saundervile
Harecurte	Mumfitchet	Panel	Sonule
Hus	Martell	Piterel	Soler
Henae	Morell	Peverel	Sourrile
Iardin	Musard	Pleisy	Stutevile
Kemes	Mallet	Paveli	Soleny
Keines	Milere	Pilet	Spigurnel
Kosin	Molevorer	Parly	Seintbrevil
Kamaia	Mautravers	Palet	Soylard
Laci	Moreiis	Piket	Swywar
Liar	Muelent	Percy	Saucer
Lunecy	Meigne	Punchet	Sansaver
Luret	Melvil	Pachet	Seniler
Lucy	Manne	Punis	Saintcler
Lidet	Mareis	Pandulfe	Seintomer
Longuevile	Marmion	Pulem	Seintleger
Levener	Mortem	Penir	Saundenal
Licot	Manfey	Penne	Savage
Lonecot	Maresthall	Phanecourt	Seintion

Saint-martin	Toret	Trussebut	Venur
Saucei	Tavit	Toc	Vavasur
Sal	Turpet	Tailpas	Vaus
Seignes	Tsamel	Truan	Wodeville
Seintlis	Torchapel	Tener	Wimle
Seintmoris	Tonny	Tisiure	Wilby
Seintgorge	Trussel	Tayleboys	Watvile
Seintiore	Tuchet	Verer	Ward
Seint-quentin	Torevile	Vilers	Wyschard
Seintmore	Trevet	Vescy	Waldeboef
Sauntpire	Tirel	Vmfravile	Wastueis
Saintchy	Trans	Veily	Warer
Setuans	Talebot	Valens	Weirim
Seinte-royiz	Turbevile	Veisin	Yuoire.
Seintelme	Tracy	Vorill	

To these six catalogues let me add one more ; not that I am an affecter of a septenary number, but because confident it is the best and most authentic of all the rest. I find it in Mr. Fox^d; but surely collected by some more skilful than himself in this kind, out of several ancient chronicles. It containeth such persons who after the battle were advanced to seignories in this land. It presenteth us only with the initial letters of their Christian names, save for the first seven therein. And although hereby we are left at an uncertainty as whether *G.* signifieth George or Gilbert, *J.* James or John, yet more than a conjecture may be made by observing what Christian name was predominant in their posterity.

^d Acts and Mon. I. 237. [ed. 1641.]

John de Maundevile	R. de Vaures	S. de Mountfychet
Adam Vndevile	G. de Argenteen	I. de Genevyle
Bernard de Frevile	I. de Hastings	H. Gyffard
Rich. de Rochvile	G. de Hastank	I. de Say
Gilbert de Frankvile	L. de Burgee	T. Gilbard
Hugo de Dovile	R. de Butvileyn	R. de Chalons
Symond de Rotevile	H. de Malebranch	S. de Chauward
R. de Evile	S. de Malemain	H. Ferret
B. de Kneuvile	G. de Hautevile	Hugo Pepard
Hugo de Morvile	H. Hauteyn	I. de Harecourt
R. de Colevile	R. de Morteyn	H. de Haunsard
A. de Warvile	R. de Mortimer	I. de Lamare
C. de Karvile	G. de Kanovile	P. de Mautrevers
R. de Rotevile	E. de Columb	G. de Ferron
S. de Stotevile	W. Paynel	R. de Ferrers
H. Bohum	C. Panner	I. de D'esty
I. Mohum	H. Pontrel	W. do Werders
W. de Vignoum	I. de Rivers	H. de Bornevile
K. de Vispount	T. de Reuile	I. de Saintdenys
W. Bailbeof	W. de Beauchamp	S. de Syncler
S. de Baleyn	R. de Beaupale	R. de Gorges
H. de Marreys	E. de Ou	E. de Gomere
I. Aguleyne	F. Lovel	W. de Fens
G. Agilon	S. de Troys	S. de Filberd
R. Chamburlayne	I. de Artel	H. de Turbervile
N. de Vendres	I. de Montebrugge	R. Troblemer
H. de Verdon	H. de Mountesorel	R. de Angon
H. de Verto	W. Trussebut	T. de Morer
C. de Vernon	W. Trussell	T. de Rotelet
H. Hardul	H. Byset	H. de Spencer
C. Cappan	R. Basset	R. de St. Quentin
W. de Camvile	R. Molet	I. de Saint Martin
I. de Camoyes	H. Malovile	G. de Custan
R. de Roz	G. Bonet	Saint Constantin
R. de Boys	P. de Bonvile	Saint Leger et Saint
W. de Waren	S. de Rovile	Med.
T. de Wardboys	N. de Norbeck	M. de Cronu et de
R. de Boys	I. de Corneux	S. Viger
W. de Audely	P. de Corbet	S. de Crayel
K. Dynham	W. de Mountagne	R. de Crenker

N. Meyvel	R. Fitzurz	V. de Somery
I. de Berners	B. Vicount de Low	I. de Saint John
S. de Chumly	G. de Cantemere	T. de Saint Gory
E. de Charers	T. de Cantlow	P. de Boyly
I. de Grey	R. Breaunce	R. de Saint Valery
W. de Grangers	T. de Broxeboof	P. de Pinkeny
S. de Grangers	S. de Bolebec	S. de Pavely
S. Baudevyn	B. Mol de Boef	G. de Monthaut
H. Vangers	I. de Muelis	T. de Mountchesy
E. Bertram	R. de Brus	R. de Lymozy
R. Bygot	S. de Brewes	G. de Lucy
S. Treoly	I. de Lille	I. de Artois
I. Trigos	T. de Bellile	N. de Arty
G. de Feines	I. de Waterville	P. de Grenville
H. Foliot	G. de Nevile	I. de Greys
R. Taperyn	R. de Neuburgh	V. de Crescy
S. Talbot	H. de Burgoyne	F. de Courcy
H. Sauntsaver	G. de Bourgh	T. de Lamar
T. de Samford	S. de Lymoges	H. de Lymastz
G. de Vandieu	L. de Lyben	I. de Moubray
C. de Vautort	W. de Helyoun	G. de Morley
G. de Mountague	W. de Hilderbron	S. de Gorney
Tho. de Chambernon	R. de Loges	R. de Courtenay
S. de Montfort	S. de Saint Low	P. de Gourney
R. de Fernevaux	I. de Maubank	R. de Cony
W. de Valence	P. de Saint Malow	I. de la Huse
T. Clarel	R. de Leofern	R. de la Huse
S. de Clervaus	I. de Lovetot	V. de Longevile
P. de Aubermale	G. de Dabbeville	E. Longespy
H. de Saint Arvant	H. de Appetot	I. Ponchardon
E. de Auganuteys	W. de Percy	R. de la Pomeroy
S. de Gant	H. de Lacy	I. de Pountz
G. de Malearbe	G. de Quincy	R. de Pontlarge
H. Mandut	E. Tracy	R. Estrauinge
W. de Chesun	R. de la Souche	Tho. Savage
L. de Chandut		

I presume the reader sufficiently wearied with so many dull prose catalogues, and now we will refresh him a little with an old song, as I find their names metrically composed in the chronicle of John Brompton the abbot. Indeed the rhythmes may be said to make themselves, such is the like cadency of many Norman names; and if the verses do but chime and tinck in the close, it is enough to the purpose.

Vous qe desyrez assaver
Les nouns de grauntz dela la mer
Qe vindrent od le conquerour
William Bastard de graunt vigoure,
Lours surnouns issi vous denys,
Come je les trova en escriis.
Car les propres nouns force ny a,
Parce qillis sont chaunges sa et la ;
Come de Edmond en Edwarde,
De Baldwyne en Barnard,
De Godwyne en Godard,
De Elys en Edwyn :
Et issint des touz autrez nouns,
Come ils sont levez du founs.
Parce lour surnouns qe sont usez,
Et ne sont pas sovent chaungez,
Vous ay escript ; ore escotez,
Si vous oier les wylleth.

Maundevyle *et* Daundevyle
Owmfravyle *et* Dawmfrevyle
Boelvyle *et* Baskarvile
Euyle *et* Cleuyle
Morevyle *et* Colevyle
Warbevyle *et* Carvyle
Botevyle *et* Stotevyle
Deverous *et* Cavervyle
Mooun *et* Boun
Vipoun *et* Vinoun

Baylon *et* Bayloun
Maris *et* Marmyoun
Agulis *et* Aguloun
Chamberleyn *et* Chamber-
soun
Vere *et* Vernoun
Verdyers *et* Verdoun
Cryel *et* Cardoun
Dummer *et* Dommoun
Hastyng *et* Cammois

Bardolfe, Botes <i>et</i> Boys	Pyryton <i>et</i> Pypard
Warenne <i>et</i> Wardeboys	Harecourt <i>et</i> Haunsard
Rodes <i>et</i> Deverois	Musegrave <i>et</i> Musard
Auris <i>et</i> Argenteyn	Mare <i>et</i> Mautravers
Botetour <i>et</i> Botevyleyn	Fernz <i>et</i> Ferers
Malebouch <i>et</i> Malemeyn	Bernevyle <i>et</i> Berners
Hautevyle <i>et</i> Hauteyn	Cheyne <i>et</i> Chalers
Denney <i>et</i> Dyveyn	Daundon <i>et</i> Daungers
Malins <i>et</i> Malvesyn	Vessi, Gray <i>et</i> Graungers
Morten <i>et</i> Mortimer	Bertram <i>et</i> Bygod
Braunz <i>et</i> Columber	Traylliz <i>et</i> Traygod
Seynt Denis <i>et</i> Seynt Cler	Penbri <i>et</i> Pypotte
Seint Aubyn <i>et</i> Seynt Omer	Freyne <i>et</i> Folyot
Seynt Fylbert, Fyens <i>et</i> Gomer	Dapisoun <i>et</i> Talbote
Turbevyle <i>et</i> Turbemer	Sanzaver <i>et</i> Saunford
Gorges <i>et</i> Spenser	Vadu <i>et</i> Vatorte
Brus <i>et</i> Boteler	Montagu <i>et</i> Mounford
Crevequel <i>et</i> Seynt Quinteyn	Forneus <i>et</i> Fornyvause
Deverouge <i>et</i> Seynt Martyn	Valens, Yle <i>et</i> Vaus
Seynt Mor <i>et</i> Seynt Leger	Clarel <i>et</i> Claraus
Seynt Vigor <i>et</i> Seynt Per	Aubervyle <i>et</i> Seint Amauns
Avynel <i>et</i> Paynell	Agantez <i>et</i> Dragans
Peyvers <i>et</i> Peverell	Malerbe <i>et</i> Maudut
Rivers <i>et</i> Rivel	Brewes <i>et</i> Chaudut
Beauchamp <i>et</i> Beaupel	Fizowres <i>et</i> Fiz de Lou
Lou <i>et</i> Lovell	Cantemor <i>et</i> Cantelou
Ros <i>et</i> Druell	Braybuffle <i>et</i> Huldbynse
Mountabouns <i>et</i> Mountsorell	Bolebeke <i>et</i> Molyns
Trussebot <i>et</i> Trussell	Moleton <i>et</i> Besyle
Bergos <i>et</i> Burnell	Rochforde <i>et</i> Desevyle
Bray <i>et</i> Boterell	Watervyle <i>et</i> Dayvyle
Biset <i>et</i> Basset	Neburs <i>et</i> Nevyle
Malevyle <i>et</i> Malet	Hynoy, Burs, Burgenoun
Bonevyle <i>et</i> Bonet	Ylebone, Hyldebrond, Helyoun
Nervyle <i>et</i> Narbet	Loges <i>et</i> Seint Lou
Coynale <i>et</i> Corbet	Maubank <i>et</i> Seint Malou
Mountayn <i>et</i> Mounfychet	Wake <i>et</i> Wakevyle
Geynevyle <i>et</i> Gyffard	Coudree <i>et</i> Knevyle
Say <i>et</i> Soward	Scales <i>et</i> Clermount
Chary <i>et</i> Chaward	Beauvys <i>et</i> Beaumont

Mouns <i>et</i> Mountchampe	Grevyle <i>et</i> Courcy
Nowers <i>et</i> Nowchampe	Arras <i>et</i> Cressy
Percy, Crus <i>et</i> Laci	Merle <i>et</i> Moubray
Quyncey <i>et</i> Traci	Gornay <i>et</i> Cowrtnay
Stokes <i>et</i> Somery	Haustlayng <i>et</i> Tornay
Seynt Jehan <i>et</i> Seynt Jay	Husee <i>et</i> Husay
Greyle <i>et</i> Seynt Walry	Pounchardon <i>et</i> Pomeray
Pynkeney <i>et</i> Panely	Longevyle <i>et</i> Longespay
Mohaunt <i>et</i> Mountchensy	Peyns <i>et</i> Pountlarge
Loveyn <i>et</i> Lucy	Straunge <i>et</i> Sauvage ^e .
Artoys <i>et</i> Arcy	

Pass we now from poetry to painting, seeing great the affinity betwixt them, fancy being predominant in both. Present we here the reader with the names and arms of forty soldiers of king William the Conqueror, matched with as many monks; but how, and on what occasion, the ensuing writing will acquaint us^f.

“ In the time of Thurston, our abbot of Ely, born
 “ of worshipful parentage in the village of Wichford
 “ near Ely, king Harold, son of Godwin, and to-
 “ gether with him all the states of England almost,
 “ were slain by the soldiers of William duke of
 “ Normandy, nephew to St. Edward the king, upon
 “ the feast of St. Calixt the pope, in the year of our
 “ Lord God one thousand sixty and six.

^e [Brompt. p. 963, collated with the MS. in the Cotton Library.

^f [The outline of this paper will be found in the Chronicle of Thomas of Ely, published by Wharton in his *Ang. Sac.* I. 609. But who is the

earl of Margary and Edward Byarn? It should almost seem that Edward was a mistake for Herward or Hereward, the Saxon who took refuge in Ely, and earl Margary for earl Morcar. See *Flor. Wigorn.* an. 1071.]

“ Whereupon Ægelwine bishop of Durham, Eg-
“ fride abbot of St. Alban’s, the earl of Margary,
“ and Edward Byarn, with sundry other chief of the
“ land, together with their friends, laden with great
“ treasures, fled unto us, desirous to withstand, so
“ far as lay in them, the enterprise of the bastard :
“ by whose aid we withstood the tempestuous threats
“ of the Normans seven years, until such a time as
“ Belase, who at that time was general of the king’s
“ army, and from whom the circuit of certain hills
“ at the south end of Alderhithe-causey, which at
“ this day are corruptly called Belsar’s hills, took
“ their name, being cast up on purpose that the army
“ in the night-time might lodge there safely, astonished
“ us by the means of an huge number of boats
“ gathered together upon a sudden. A council then
“ being called, it seemed good to our captains in
“ convenient time to crave the king’s mercy. Where-
“ upon certain were sent to the king’s court, being
“ then at Warwick, carrying with them to the king
“ a mighty treasure, a competent price and satisfac-
“ tion to pacify him concerning an unadvised at-
“ tempt. Wherewith the honourable king was ap-
“ peased, yet with this covenant and condition, that
“ so long as it pleased him, forty of the king’s sol-
“ diers should be maintained at the charge of the
“ monastery. For the king feared, lest that whilst
“ he bent his forces against the Scots not yet sub-
“ dued, the Isle of Ely, being then a dreadful
“ strength, should again revolt to his great danger.
“ The soldiers with their retinue are sent, they come
“ and here abide. Whereof each one is delivered to
“ some principal monk, as a captain to his lieutenant,
“ or a guest to his host. Now the king decreed

“ that Bertwolde the butler should minister food to
“ the soldiers and monks jointly together, one with
“ another, in the common hall of the monastery.
“ What need many words? These captains to their
“ lieutenants, these guests to their hosts, these sol-
“ diers to their monks were most welcome: for all
“ of them entertained each one, each one enter-
“ tained all, and every one mutually one another,
“ with all duties of humanity. At length the fire of
“ the civil war being quenched, and the king esta-
“ blished according to his heart’s desire, five years
“ after, his severity in punishing being in godly
“ manner pacified, it pleased the king to withdraw
“ his yoke, wherewith the pride of the monks was
“ now sufficiently abated. And the conqueror re-
“ claimed his soldiers to punish the ungodly inso-
“ lency of his son Robert, who at that time in out-
“ rageous manner kept riot in Normandy. But our
“ monks (which is a wonder to report) did not only
“ with tears bewail the departure of their dearest
“ mates, the heroical soldiers and welcome guests,
“ but howled out most fearfully, and beat their
“ breasts as destitute of hope, after the manner of a
“ new-married wife, whose husband is violently taken
“ away, at an unseasonable time, out of her sweet
“ arms unto the wars. For they doubted lest that,
“ being thus forsaken, they should be subject to the
“ spoil; whereas they had lived securely at ease,
“ with their armed guests, to whose trust they had
“ committed themselves and their goods. They
“ being now all ready for their journey, every one of
“ our monks, many in number, investured in their
“ copes, in dutiful manner accompanied these gentle-
“ men departing unto Hadenham, with songs, crosses,

“ censers, processions, and all solemnity that might
 “ be used. And returning home, took order that
 “ the arms of each soldier should be lively depainted
 “ upon the wall of the common hall, where they
 “ took their repast together, to the perpetual memory
 “ of the customed kindness of their soldier-like
 “ guests, the which from time to time, from the pre-
 “ decessors to the successors, and from obscure an-
 “ tiquity to our posterity at this day, are curiously
 “ set forth to be viewed of all men, not without a
 “ pleasant delight, in such manner as they glitter
 “ and shine honourable in the margent of this
 “ table.”

This writing was composed about the reign of king Henry the Seventh, but the arms set up in Ely-hall (as may appear by inserting the coat of Robert Orford, the fourteenth bishop of Ely) about the year 1306. Which hall was destroyed at the dissolution; but another transcript of the arms of these knights being depicted on the wall of the dean's dining-room, was lately extant, whence our draught here presented was taken, (rather truly than neatly done, out of desire to conform to the original,) and communicated to me by that worthy knight and able antiquary, sir Simon Archer of Warwickshire^g.

Some will wonder that Mr. Camden maketh no mention hereof, whose omniscieny in these things may be presumed of. Yea, which is more, “there is,” saith he, “a rampire of mean height, but of very large compass, which they call Belsar's hills, of one Belsar, I wot not who^h,” taking no notice

^g [See a copy of it in Ben-
 tham's Ely, p. 106.]

^h Camden's *Britannia* in
 Cambridgeshire, [p. 361.]

of Belasis, the Norman general who subdued Elie, and from whom our late-produced writing attesteth those hills to be so named. But besides that *Camdenus non videt omnia*, great antiquaries are sometimes subject to fits of sullenness, and will not see what they do see, when resolved to take no notice thereof.

And now we have presented the reader with eight several catalogues, two of Holinshed's, two of Stow's, two of Mr. Fox, one of Scriven's, one of friar Brompton's, besides the list of Elie knights; I could wish a good herald would make a *mono-ogdoon*, that is, "one out of eight," and alphabetically digest the same; also note what names are extant, and which, how, and when extinct.

By names which I call extinct, understand, not existent in any signal and remarkable lustre proportionable to their former greatness, though possibly some obscure under-boughs, truly derived thence, may still be in being. That worthy doctorⁱ hath made many converts in physic to his seeming paradox, maintaining the circulation of blood running round about the body of man. Nor is it less true, that gentle blood fetcheth a circuit in the body of a nation, running from yeomanry through gentry to nobility, and so retrograde, returning through gentry to yeomanry again. My father hath told me from the mouth of sir Robert Cotton, that that worthy knight met in a morning a true and undoubted Plantagenet holding the plough in the country.

He might add arms to ancient names, where he could recover any certainty therein; for I am confident that hereditary arms are not so ancient as the

ⁱ Dr. Hervey.

conquest, but fixed in families about the beginning of Henry the Third, finding before that time the warlike devices of the sons not the same with the fancies of their fathers, and their grandchildren differing from both.

If any say that I have already gone too far in this subject, who am no herald by profession, but only κήρυξ, *præco*, a crier in the spiritual acceptation of the office; yea, that this favours of revenge, as if because so many in this age invade my calling, I in requital have made incursion into other men's professions; like men that take letters of mart, not caring whom they wrong, so they repair themselves for their former sustained or pretended losses: let such know that I adventure on heraldry not as a calling, but as an accessory quality for recreation. And, in evidence of my loyalty to the king of arms, I submit what here I have written to their censure and correction, who have obliged me unto them with their many and great civilities.

Only I will add some corollaries to this roll, and so conclude.

First coroll. When any name begins with a vowel or an H, the prefixing of D' createth a (seeming) new name; as, Arcy, D'Arcy; Aunvers, D'Aunvers; Haurel or Hairel, D'Hairel.

Second coroll. French surnames are generally discernible by their terminations:

The prefix-
ing of D' be-
fore names.

French sur-
names dis-
cerned by
their termi-
nations.

In age,	as, Savage.	ers, as, Danvers.
ard,	Giffard.	eux, Devereux.
champe,	Beauchampe.	et, Barret.
court,	Harcourt.	lay, Cholmelay.
cy,	Darcy.	nay, Courtney.
ell,	Terrell.	ot, Talbot.
er,	Archer.	vile, Nevile.

Some few names whose endings are exceptions from these rules are easily observed by reading, and known to be of French extraction.

Third coroll. Wivil is the last name in most catalogues. First fixed at Stanton Wivil in Leicestershire, where they continued in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry the Sixth, on this token, that William Wivil, being sworn and examined, did depose that he could expend twenty pounds a year of old rents besides all charges. Of this house was Robert de Wivil bishop of Salisbury, one neither handsome nor learned, but eminent for his long life (forty-five years bishop there) and high spirit, that he would not suffer the castle of Sarum to be parted from his see, challenged by William Mountacute earl of Salisbury, without putting it upon trial of battle. Long since the Wivils here are extinct, bearing gules, frettey vary, a chief or. But there is extant an ancient family of that name in the north, (though different in arms,) augmented in state and honour by matches with the heirs of Pigot, Scroope of Upsal, and Bointon: whereof sir Marmaduke Wivil of Constable-Burton in Richmondshire was created baronet by king James, whose grandchild Marmaduke baronet Wivil married the daughter of Coniers lord Darcy. And I am glad that I may auspiciously close, and conclude my catalogue with so worthy a gentleman; bearing gules, three cheveronels braced in base, gobonee argent and azure, a chief or.

Fourth coroll. All names of gentry which by authentic records came over at the conquest are not expressed in any of these catalogues; as Saukvil or

Wivil
chose the
catalogue.

The family
of the Wald-
graves.

Sackvil, and Waldgrave, we finding two of that surname.

One John Waldgrave a Saxon, living at Waldgrave in Northamptonshire, and possessed of that manor before the conquest.

The other a Walloon of that name, coming over with the conqueror, and employed by him in many services.

The latter of these, on the former his consent that he should marry his only daughter, procured from the conqueror a pardon for his father-in-law, that he might quietly enjoy his lands and livings, descending on this Walloon Waldgrave after the other his death. Which pardon, legible in French, was anno 1612 in the possession of the Waldgraves, still flourishing in Suffolk^k.

After the conquest several recruits of French in England.

Fifth coroll. Let none wonder if some names of worshipful and honourable families, undoubtedly of French original, (but since the conquest,) have not appeared in the aforesaid catalogues. For know that after the conquest, sundry Frenchmen of signal worth entered England at several times, chiefly at the marriage, first, of king Henry the Second to queen Eleanor, who brought the dukedom of Aquitaine and earldom of Poitiers for her dowry: secondly, of Edward the Second to Isabella daughter to Philip the Fair, king of France, when three thousand French came over with her, (complained of as a great grievance,) and many settled there. Not to speak of the conquests of king Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth in France, causing such an in-

^k Attested by John Raven Richmond. See Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 757.

tercourse of the nations, that then England and France may be said to have born counterchangeably each other's natives.

Sixth coroll. Many will admire no mention of tradesmen in all these catalogues, being of absolute necessity both in war and peace. For soon would the head of the best monsieur ache without a capper: hands be tanned without a glover; feet be foundred without a tanner, currier, shoemaker; whole body be starved, cold, without weaver, fuller, tailor; hungry, without baker, brewer, cook; harbourless, without mason, smith, and carpenter. Say not it was beneath the French gallantry to stoop to such mean employments, who found all these trades here amongst the English their vassals. For (besides that nothing is base which is honest, and necessary for human society) such as are acquainted with the French both ancient and modern finical humour, know they account our tailors botchers, shoemakers cobblers, cooks slovens, compared to the exactness of their fancy and palate; so that certainly such trades came over with them.

Seventh coroll. But hear what our great antiquary¹ saith herein. "In that most authentical register, *Domesday-book* in the exchequer, ye shall have "*cocus, aurifaber, pictor, pisto, accipitrarius, came-*" "*rarius, venator, piscator, medicus*; cook, goldsmith, "painter, baker, falconer, chamberlain, huntsman, "fisher, leach, marshall, porter, and others, which "then held land *in capite*, and without doubt left "these names to their posterity; albeit haply they "are not mentioned in those tables of Battel-abbey "of such as came in at the conquest."

¹ Camden his Remains, p. 152.

The sad
case of the
English.

Eighth coroll. Now let me bespeak the reader's pity (though possibly his ingenuous sympathy hath given it before it was requested) for those poor Englishmen who were to find free quarters for all those French. Where could their landlords lodge them? Or rather, how could they long continue landlords, when such potent guests came to their houses? O the several ways which their necessities dictated unto them! Some fought, as the Kentish, who capitulated for their liberty: some fled, as those in the north into Scotland: some hid themselves, as many in middle England in the Isle of Ely: some, as those of Norfolk, traversed their title by law, and that with good success in the old age of king William the Conqueror. Most betook themselves to patience, which taught many a noble hand to work, foot to travel, tongue to intreat; even thanking them for their courtesy who were pleased to restore a shiver of their own loaf which they violently took from them.

END OF VOL. I.

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